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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. V, No. 1 Fall 1994

This Quarter's Theme:

Irredentism
and the
American Southwest

From MexAmerica to Aztlan	Brent Nelson
The Great Invasion	Translated from *Excelsior*
The War of Mexican Aggression	Odie B. Faulk
Was There Ever an Aztlan?	K. L. Billingsley
The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo	Gerda Bikales
Funding "Demographic Warfare"	Samuel Francis
The Bandit As Revolutionary Hero	Wayne Lutton

PLUS
ESSAYS, OPINION PIECES, REVIEWS AND REPORTAGE ON:
population growth, language, assimilation,
culture, and the environment.

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. However, immigration grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day, 90 million a year.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. **How** many people shall we admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?
2. **Who** should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing?
3. **How** shall we humanely enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our goal is to provide a periodical devoted to the interrelated topics of:

- **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, the latter is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive from a national population policy.)
- **Immigration policy**, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
- **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
- **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities** since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world in which we live.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas — to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to take part in this Great Debate by reading and contributing to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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Waiting For Rostock?

Editorial

As we put this issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT to bed, the California vote on Proposition 187 is a few days away. The vote at bottom is on whether to cut off social services (including schooling) to those illegally residing in that state. We await the results with trepidation, whichever way the vote turns out.

If the initiative passes — and we support it — it seems likely that the result will be the same as with Proposition 63 in 1986 — the one that made English the official language of California. As with 187, nearly all state officials opposed it, while the public voted for it 74% to 26%, one of the biggest landslides in California initiative history. But public officials declined to enforce it, as will likely be the outcome with 187 if it passes.

The supporters of 187 will then go rapidly through the four stages in the development of any new idea that doesn't work out: (1) wild enthusiasm when it is adopted, (2) bitter disappointment when it is not implemented, (3) a search for the guilty, and, (4) punishment of the innocent.

The opponents of 187 will doubtless be whipped into a frenzy if it passes. The looser lips among them have already talked about "burning the state down," forgetting the World War II counter-espionage dictum: loose lips/sink ships.

In contrast, if the initiative fails, some proponents — if one can judge from the many personal communications this writer has had — will give up on the state. Those who can afford to lose $50,000 or $100,000 on their homes will leave for (temporarily) greener pastures; those who are stuck will not likely take it gracefully. One of the chief differences between Yugoslavia and California over the last five years has been that disgruntled Golden Staters have been able to leave, whereas the Bosnians had no place to go. Having a populace that feels trapped is not a pleasant prospect.

If the initiative fails, it will be its opponents who will be ecstatic (initially); this will shortly fade when they learn that the defeat has only hardened the opposition, stiffened its resolve, and broadened its objectives to include *legal* immigration. The opponents will then mount their own search for the guilty, before they punish the innocent.

Where is the Federal Government in all of this? Are they waiting for Rostock, the city in the former East Germany where violence against immigrants finally forced the government to act?[1] Is it bloodshed for which the politicians are waiting?

It didn't *have* to be this way. Ever since we began working on the immigration question in 1969, it was readily apparent to anyone with a sense of history and human psychology, that if the issue was not resolved early by reasonable people, it would end up in the streets ... as it has, with 70,000 opponents marching in Los Angeles. My physician's perspective: it is usually easier, less expensive and painful, and the prospects for success are better, to treat a problem early, rather than wait until the patient is moribund.

Let's not wait for Rostock.

In this issue we explore the phenomenon of irredentism, the desire to regain lost territory. It is common enough around the world ... in the Middle East, the claims go back thousands of years. We have been spared it in North America, except in the southwest. Brent Nelson briefs us on the escalating rhetoric and possible forms and degrees of separation that its proponents envision. Next, we reprint the famous (infamous?) article on the topic from *Excelsior*, a leading newspaper in Mexico City. Odie Faulk writes that the Mexican claims do not have much legal or factual substance, and K. L. Billingsley questions whether there was an Aztlan. Gerda Bikales comments on the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and Sam Francis then briefs us on a forthcoming study of the Ford Foundation's role in funding opposition to immigration control. Wayne Lutton closes this section by reviewing the book, *Gringo Justice*.

Next, we present critiques of our Spring 1994 cover article, "End of the Migration Epoch?," and responses by the author.

Finally we call your attention to a proposal for Chinese enclaves, first in Arkansas, but then in six other locations around the United States. This promises to be a hot issue, as was a similar proposal in Australia several years ago. We round out this issue with a number of insightful articles and reports, original and reprinted, and reviews of important new books.

We wish you some good late fall reading.

John Tanton
Editor and Publisher

[1] See our editorial, "We Told Them So," Fall 1992, p. 3.

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

Much as I dislike doing so, I must complain about the title and some of the contents of my good friend Roy Beck's lead article in the Summer 1994 issue. The title, "The U.S. Congress and U.S. Population Growth" is misleading. The same incorrect implication is noted throughout the article.

The author is carried away with the impact of immigration on population size. It is an important ingredient but so is fertility. To label a legislator as responsible for population growth because he or she has voted for continued high levels of immigration is grossly unfair, particularly if such legislators have worked diligently over the years to assure Americans access to family planning and abortion services.

Fertility is barely mentioned and then only to argue (incorrectly, in my view) that "Congress could set the nation on the road to stabilization tomorrow with the simple passage of a single immigration bill with low enough numbers" (p.241). But even if immigration was reduced to zero, the population would still rise to well above 300 million before peaking if fertility remained at current levels. However, even a slight decline in fertility would have a tremendous impact on future population size. According to the latest Census Bureau projections, gradually reducing fertility from 2.1 to 1.8 [births per woman] would mean a difference of 42 million people by 2050.

I do not minimize the importance of reducing immigration. This is crucial if the nation is to stop population growth and perhaps even reverse its path. Both, immigration *and* fertility, must decrease if we are ever to attain such a goal.

I repeat: to criticize legislators solely on the basis of votes on immigration and label them responsible for population growth is incorrect and unfair. It results in ridiculous groupings of such true advocates of population limitation as Anthony Bielensen with a right-wing anti-family planning congressman like Robert Dornan!

To his credit, the author does point out that some "guardians of population growth" have stellar environmental records and are in the forefront of advocacy for family-planning. However, he never names these legislators. Given the overwhelming importance of lower fertility on both the individual and societal level, isn't it time that we praise those legislators who have long fought the good battle against the positions held by the two previous administrations?

May I suggest that Roy delve deeper into the records of our legislators to see how they have voted on family planning expenditures; on various abortion bills; on environmental issues; and, yes, on immigration legislation. Then, and only then, can he argue that legislator A is more or less favorable to population growth than legislator B.

Sincerely,
Leon F. Bouvier
Lady Lake, Florida

Roy Beck Responds:

Leon Bouvier helpfully reminds us that we cannot keep our 260-million population from expanding to above 300 million through immigration reduction alone. Therefore, even though Americans long have maintained an environmentally responsible fertility rate of below-replacement level, there is need to lower it still further, especially by trying to prevent unplanned pregnancies to women who say they want no more children, and to lower the very high fertility of immigrant women. Nonetheless, I stand by my central analysis that the members of Congress listed as "Guardians of Rapid Population Growth" — regardless of how aggressively they support birth control efforts — indeed are forcing population congestion and expansion on the American people through their support of present immigration policies. I concede Leon's argument, however, that my "Supporters of Population Stabilization" charts give too much credit to those who are trying to limit immigration but continue to oppose efforts to prevent unwanted fertility. I accept the challenge to create a measure for the next Congress that takes that into account. Any suggestions, readers?

Editor:

I agree with you that it is foolish to invite people from all over the world to migrate to the United States as a means of solving their problems. The problems of Haiti need to be solved in Haiti, not in the U.S.A. The problems of Mexico need to be solved

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solved in Mexico, not in the U.S.A. The problems of Iran need to be solved in Iran, not in the U.S.A. It is the problems of the U.S.A. that need to be solved in the U.S.A. We focus on our problems and let them focus on theirs. Immigration is not the answer.

John H. Broy
Monterey Park, CA

Editor:

For over four years I have reiterated the opinion that population growth, exacerbated by immigration, legal and illegal, has been one of the root causes of the depletion of water supply, especially in California. I have advocated the adoption of Drought Safety Standards (adopted by Placer County [CA] on April 5, 1994) and have advanced the Placer County Immigration Reform Resolution as means to address the water crisis.

Unfortunately, environmental groups in the U.S. have neglected the multiplying effect of population growth on domestic environmental problems such as California's depleted water supply. Former U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson, now of the Wilderness Society, said in a keynote speech that the disconnection between efforts to protect the environment and those to stabilize population has occurred primarily "due to lack of attention to the concept of carrying capacity."

Most legislators are in the same position as former U.S. Representative Claudine Schneider who stated in an article in the Fall 1992 issue of **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** that "despite her strong conservation credentials during 10 years in the House, it was only in 1990 that she began really to grasp the connection between immigration and environment."

California State Senator Art Torres has said, "It's time to reduce the flow of immigrants into the United States. Both the state and the nation have reached the point where we have to be much more restrictive. There is just so much our resources can handle."

In my view the water issue in California can easily be connected to immigration numbers.

Wendell Peart, DVM
Pine Grove, California

Albert P. Blaustein, In Memoriam

Albert Blaustein, a world renowned constitutional scholar who drafted the constitutions of several emerging nations and was an advisor on constitution writing to newly liberated nations in Eastern Europe, died on August 22, in Durham, N.C. He was 72.

Professor Blaustein, who had recently retired from the Rutgers University Law School, was an expert on the American Constitution and lectured widely on its history and uniqueness. He was the author of more than twenty books, and devoted much of his legal research and writing to the racial, religious, ethnic and linguistic problems of pluralistic societies.

In his work for other countries, Professor Blaustein tried to promote the tenets of democratic governance and individual civil rights enshrined in the U.S. charter, adapted to reflect vastly differing cultural, historic, economic and social conditions. He believed that a country's constitution should be a showpiece for "the people's ideals and aspirations."

The issue of widening language conflict in our country, and the study of possible legal resolutions to the problem, held Professor Blaustein's interest for many years. He contributed substantially to the debate on establishing English as the official language of the United States in his 1986 book, *Resolving Language Conflicts: A Study of the World's Constitutions*, which looked at the experience of other countries in granting ethnic language rights in their constitutions. That same year he also convened noted American legal scholars for a conference on the legal ramifications of a constitutional amendment designating English as the official language of the United States.

Professor Blaustein was a graduate of the University of Michigan, and of the Columbia University Law School.

— Gerda Bikales
Former executive director of U.S.English

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Brent Nelson has his Ph.D. in literature from Ohio University. This article was excerpted by the author from his book, America Balkanized: Immigration's Challenge to Government *(Monterey, VA: American Immigration Control Foundation, 1994).*

From MexAmerica to Aztlan

by Brent Nelson

MexAmerica ... is more than an economic phenomenon, a good investment for some people. Under the name of Aztlan, it is claimed as their homeland by the Chicano nationalists. Aztlan, they explain, was the name given by the Aztecs to the northern land from which they descended into Mexico to found the city of Tenochtitlan.[1] Today, however, it is a captive nation, subjugated and exploited by the *Yanqui* imperialists.

The name Aztlan was first given currency in 1969 when the Chicano National Liberation Youth Conference was held at Denver. The conference produced "The Spiritual Plan of Aztlan," of which the following are typical passages:

> *In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud heritage, but also of the brutal "gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlan ... declare that the call of our blood is ... our inevitable destiny. Aztlan belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops, and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the Bronze Continent ... We declare the independence of our mestizo Nation ... Before the world, before all of North America ... we are a Nation. We are Aztlan.*[2]

Partisans of Aztlan in following years contributed to the establishment of departments of Chicano Studies in colleges and universities. These in turn generated a literature in support of their aims. Typical of the revisionist histories produced is Rodolfo Acuna's *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation*, which defends the thesis that "The Mexican-American War was not only an unjust war but ... it was just as brutal as the repression perpetuated by other colonial regimes. The Anglo-Texans' treatment of the Mexican was violent and often inhumane. The Anglo-American invasion of Mexico was as vicious as that of Hitler's invasion of Poland and other Central European nations, or, for that matter, U.S. involvement in Vietnam."[3]

It is not clear whether most Chicano nationalists favor independence for Aztlan itself or seek its annexation by Mexico. If the latter, then the rise of Chicano separatism would introduce to Americans a problem new to the Western Hemisphere, but one that has long been known to Europe. This is irredentism, a term which, in the definition of Max H. Boehm, "is derived from the Italian *irredenta* (unredeemed). The concept originated in the nineteenth century in connection with the Italian movement which, after the unification of Italy, aimed at the annexation of Italian-speaking regions still under Austrian or Swiss Rule, such as Trent, Dalmatia, Istria, Trieste and Fiume. The concept, however, has become detached from its concrete and specific connotation and has come to denote any movement which aims to unite politically with its co-national mother-state a region under foreign rule."[4]

The classic irredentist situation involves an area of one nation-state, adjacent or in proximity to another nation-state, which was formerly owned by the latter and has a majority of its inhabitants sharing the same ethnic identity as the latter. The demographic factor is the *sine qua non* of irredentism, but no less essential is the conviction, generally held by the citizens of at least one of the two nation-states, that the frontiers of nationality and of polity should coincide, that all nation-states should recognize "ethnicity" as the basis of citizenship even if that involves rectifying historic "injustices" of decades or centuries past.

What "Anglos" see as Chicano separatism is, seen from a perspective south of the Rio Grande, Mexican irredentism. Since even *Yanqui* historians readily and perhaps unthinkingly "admit" that the U.S. "stole" the Southwest from Mexico, and since the moral and historical basis for an irredentist movement has

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already been established by Chicano authors, it would seem that the rise of Mexican irredentism as a serious political movement awaits only the demographic transformation of the Southwest.

Boehm notes three "counter-remedies for irredentist difficulties...: the rectification of frontiers, assimilation and accord of interests."[5] Resort to the first procedure as a formal, legal process seems to be of the highest order of improbability in the case of Mexican irredentism. The second is the officially expressed remedy offered by the governing stratum of the U.S. whenever American society is confronted with inter-group conflict. Increasingly, however, the third remedy is the one which will be attempted in practice, albeit that official expressions of public policy will continue to pay homage to the American ideal of *e pluribus unum.*

"What 'Anglos' see as Chicano separatism is, seen from a persective south of the Rio Grande, Mexican irredentism."

Rectification of frontiers following either a protracted guerrilla war or decades of chronic terrorism may, however, not be ruled out as an option by those who seek such rectification. The fact that such an effort is unlikely to be successful may not be sufficient to deter those who are fanatically committed to what they see as self-determination for their homeland. When the small band of enthusiasts following John Brown to Harper's Ferry were apprehended, their plot seemed almost ludicrous for the dimensions of the ambition which inspired it. Nonetheless, history demonstrated that Brown's raid was merely a harbinger of what was to come. Similarly, partisans of Aztlan may one day also choose to act, hoping that even a failed *putsch* might lead to a later and successful uprising.

The U.S. As Enemy

In 1986 *Excelsior*, a leading newspaper in Mexico City, conducted a survey of Mexicans' perceptions of the U.S. The results, as reported in *The Atlanta Constitution*, were as follows: "Fifty-nine percent of 550 people polled said the United States was 'an enemy country' when asked how they viewed Mexico's northern neighbor, compared with 31 percent who said the United States was 'a friendly country.' Ten percent of those polled did not answer."[6]

Irredentism is promoted not merely by private publications such as *Excelsior*, but also by the Mexican government. In 1981 the Mexican government opened the National Museum of Intervention, specifically intended for the education of youth. The following are excerpts from Larry Rohter's article in the *New York Times* regarding this rather unusual museum:

> *At the entrance stands Uncle Sam, his ax raised triumphantly over a prostrate Mexico. But inside the National Museum of Intervention, the tables are turned, and it is the United States that comes under unrelenting attack.*
>
> *In the course of their history as neighbors, Mexico and the United States have endured relations often marked by tension, conflict and mutual suspicion. Nowhere in Mexico is that phenomenon more apparent than at this self-described "repository of national memory" maintained mainly for the benefit of the nation's schoolchildren.*
>
> *Housed in a former convent, the museum contains exhibits, maps, weapons, documents and photographs that convey a distinctly Mexican view of that uneasy relationship. Financed and administered by the Mexican government, the museum, inaugurated just before Mexican Independence Day in 1981, is both a monument to two centuries of accumulated rancor and an affirmation of national identity....*
>
> *Much of the museum focuses on the events leading up to and accompanying "the Mutilation," as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is often called here. In that treaty, which followed the victory of the United States in the war of 1846-48, Mexico lost more than half its claimed territory, which became the American Southwest.*
>
> *The deaths of Mexicans in that struggle for continental supremacy are referred to here as "exterminations" or "assassinations." American*

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victims like the 365 combatants executed on Palm Sunday in 1836 after their surrender at what is now Goliad, Tex., are described, on the other hand, merely as having been "shot."[7]

While the Mexican government portrays the U.S. as an enemy of Mexico's people, it could be argued that some public officials in California, Texas, and Arizona have been, in fact, overly solicitous of their interests. A few exemplary instances are the following: Property owners in San Diego's McGonigle Canyon, confronted with illegal entrants squatting on their land, experienced difficulty in getting city authorities to enforce the laws against trespassing.[8] California's Assembly passed a resolution urging the federal government to delay building a ditch along the U.S.-Mexican border because the proposed ditch had aroused protests in Mexico when the governor opened the state's new trade office there.[9] A "Buy American-Buy Texan" bill passed in the Texas legislature only after Mexico was defined in the bill as American.[10] Also approved was a bill to allow Mexican nationals to pay in-state tuition when they attend five Texas state universities in the border area.[11] San Antonio's Mayor Henry Cisneros, in an address delivered to Albuquerque's Hispano Chamber of Commerce, argued that "there is no way to seal the border."[12] Not to be outdone, Texas's Lieutenant Governor Bill Hobby called for open borders, explaining that "by an accident of history, a particular shallow river is now found to be a boundary and people crossing that river without getting a paper stamped are termed illegal immigrants and therefore thought to be some great problem."[13] Arizona's Governor Bruce Babbitt told LULAC (the League of United Latin American Citizens) that Mexico's debt to the U.S. should be halved because "the banks can soak it up."[14]

By the 1990s, MexAmerica had begun to evolve its own regional politics, a politics as unique as was that of the so-called Solid South prior to 1954. The American officials cited above, as well as others, had begun to make an implicit obeisance to the new political realities of their region. Their compliant attitude may partially explain why the Chicano nationalists, unlike their predecessors in the late 1960s, had apparently elected "the long march through the institutions" as a strategy rather than militance.

Through the Institutions

Chicano nationalists began their long march through the institutions in 1969 when the Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education met to issue "El Plan de Santa Barbara." This plan was directed to the colleges and universities and called for the establishment of Chicano Studies programs. A student organization was also founded, the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan* or MECHA. With this development ended what Mario Barrera, in his *Beyond Aztlan: Ethnic Autonomy in Comparative Perspective*, calls "the classic period" of the Chicano movement. This combined both "communitarian and egalitarian goals under the ideological label of Chicanismo."[15]

"Barrera believes that the Chicano movement in the 1990s is regaining sight of its communitarian goal, especially since American society has begun to evolve toward multiculturalism."

In the following years, according to Barrera, the movement "fragmented and diverged," often neglecting the communitarian goal in its pursuit of socio-economic and political equality.[16] The August Twenty-Ninth Movement, however, kept alive the hope of independence for Aztlan. According to Barrera, "The ATM based its position on certain concepts Lenin and Stalin had developed to deal with the political problem of multiple ethnic groups in Russia and Eastern Europe... The key concept here was that of national self-determination, which meant that any group that met certain criteria of 'nationhood' was free to determine its own national boundaries, even if that meant seceding from an existing state."[17]

Barrera believes that the Chicano movement in the 1990s is regaining sight of its communitarian goal, especially since American society has begun to evolve towards multiculturalism. His *Beyond Aztlan* might well serve as a *vade mecum* for that movement. It is well-documented, closely argued, and scholarly in tone, avoiding the stentorian rhetoric which characterized "El Plan" in its previous appearances.

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Although American society has held that an ethnic group can achieve equality only by losing its distinctive collective identity, Barrera points to "a tradition of thought in the United States that supports the concept of a pluralistic accommodation. ... This is the cultural pluralism position, originally expounded by the Jewish philosopher Horace Kallen."[18]

Exploring the Concept of Regional Autonomy

Barrera believes that cultural pluralism has "remained a curiously incomplete intellectual concept" in contemporary America, where it seems to be simply "a supportive set of attitudes." He believes, however, that "regional autonomy" is necessary because

> *a more realistic analysis would take note ... that culture is rooted in and shaped by a whole range of institutions: the mass media, which transmit cultural attitudes in a very direct manner; the schools, with their impact on language learning; the corporations, which reward certain types of language skills and cultural attributes and penalize others; the government, which is a major employer itself and which sets policies affecting all of the other institutions. As the Quebecois well know, a "do-your-own-thing-on-your-own-time" attitude doesn't take you very far toward cultural pluralism if everyone knows that English is the only way to get ahead. To achieve a real rather than an illusory cultural pluralism, then, requires a set of supportive institutions, such as are found in Quebec and Switzerland but not in the United States.*[19]

Barrera defines regional autonomy as "a kind of in-between solution to ethnic and nationalist demands, poised between separatism and secession on the one hand and assimilation without choice on the other."[20] Ironically, the nations which Barrera sees as models for the attainment of this ideal — Canada, Switzerland, and Belgium — are precisely those cited in the warnings of Governor Lamm and others. What is a disaster for one party appears to be an ideal compromise or accord, the third of Boehm's counter-remedies, to the other.

What [former Colorado Governor Richard] Lamm and others see as an extreme solution, Barrera defines as "implicit regional autonomy. In both Canada and Switzerland, a federal system of government has combined with the coexistence of different ethnic groups to produce a system of ethnic regional autonomy that is not called by that name."[21] Explicit regional autonomy exists in China and, when Barrera was writing, in Nicaragua where the Sandinista government sought to appease the Meskito Indians.[22]

Hannum and Lillich, writing in *The American Journal of International Law* on the concept of autonomy, provide Barrera with a legal model. Hannum and Lillich's definition of "the *minimum* governmental powers that a territory would need to possess if it were to be considered fully autonomous" resembles American federalism. The powers enumerated, all subject to the principal government, include "a locally elected body with some legislative power," "a locally chosen chief executive," and "an independent local judiciary." Also, "the status of autonomy and at least partial self-government is not inconsistent with the denial of any local authority over specific areas of special concern to the principal/sovereign government" and is also "consistent with power-sharing arrangements between the central and autonomous governments."[23]

"Demographic trends, Barrera believes, favor the rise of ethnic autonomy areas."

At first glance, and admittedly without reading the fine print, this legal model seems to be a replica of the American federal system. The crucial difference, however, is that such a regional government would be implicitly or explicitly conducted in the name of a specific ethnic group. The latter, however, is a matter of content, not of form.

Barrera recognizes the practical difficulty that "ethnic groups overlap in their patterns of residence, so that it is not possible to draw neat boundaries around regions. This is the type of argument that the Quebecois call mappism." The answer to "mappism" is China, where "one ethnic group lives in the valleys and another on the ridges of hills, and so on."[24]

Demographic trends, Barrera believes, favor the rise of ethnic autonomy areas. He cites the

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demographic studies of Bouvier, the Southern California Association of Governments, and others to conclude that "the most likely candidates for Chicano regional autonomy areas are southern California, northern New Mexico, and southern Texas."[25] Chicanos either have majorities or will have majorities of the populations in these areas. In New Mexico, their roots go back four centuries.

It is impossible to predict whether or not Barrera's plan will be realized, but he notes that "no one predicted the Chicano Movement, nor the Quiet Revolution in Canada." The latter revolution was spearheaded by "intellectuals and professionals" when "a rising strata of Quebecois professionals and administrators found their path blocked by the established order with its ethnic stratification system." A similar movement could arise among Chicano intellectuals and professionals "now there are Chicano journals, Chicano Studies programs, and a National Association for Chicano Studies, as well as a host of professional organizations."[26]

Implementation of Barrera's plan could follow one of the two following models:

> *One is the explicit model, which would require the designation of special areas specifically for ethnic autonomy, and would be a modification of the existing federal system. The other route would be to work for the redrawing of state lines, carving out new states that would have a majority or plurality Chicano population. This route would be more along the Canadian or Swiss model, in that it would not necessarily require a change in existing federal principles. ... In passing, it might be noted that the idea of dividing California into more than one state is not a new idea. In the years prior to 1915, many such efforts originated in southern California. Since then, a number of others have come from the northern part of the state.*[27]

The explicit model seems to be outrageously improbable. Something approaching it, however, has already been attempted. In 1985 an Arizona state legislator proposed a state resolution to prohibit "Persons who do not speak a native language indigenous to the region, or who are not descendants of persons living in the area prior to the [Gadsden] purchase from residing in the territory acquired under the Gadsden Purchase Act of 1853."[28] The area of the Gadsden Purchase includes the southern third of Arizona. While the attempt failed in 1985, and would undoubtedly have been quashed by the federal courts, it is significant that such an attempt was even made.

The second model is also not as improbable as it seems. Although the U.S. Constitution requires approval by Congress of the creation of new states from old states, and although such approval would seem to be unlikely to be given since such a new state would have two new Senators, attempts to create new states by secession from the old are not unknown. In November, 1980, voters in five of six counties in south New Jersey approved a non-binding referendum which sought approval to initiate a political process toward separate statehood for "South Jersey."[29] Advocates of a new state of South Jersey have long felt alienated from ethnically different Newark, which dominates the northern part of the state. A similar estrangement from Detroit and Lansing has moved some people in northern and upper peninsular Michigan to seek independence from southern Michigan. The Republic of Texas, in the treaty admitting it to the U.S., reserved the right to divide itself into as many as five states.

Conclusion

The "worst-case" scenario in the Southwest and elsewhere in the United States may well prove to be not the secession of an ethnic enclave, but the development, hastened by a period of crisis, of quasi-independent city-states and new states, each of which would claim for itself a kind of *imperium in imperio*, while not disdaining to receive more than its share of the federal revenue. Acceptance of this arrangement would be the price paid for civil peace or for securing the territory in question from occupation by the troops of a foreign power, one congenial to the area's inhabitants or even seen by them as their true homeland. It is not inconceivable that a day may dawn on the U.S. when a curious reversal will have taken place in which States' Rights, from having been the last resort of reactionaries, will have become the favored strategy of revolutionaries. ■

NOTES

[1] See Michael Smith, "The Aztlan Migrations of the Nahuatl Chronicles: Myth or History?" *Ethnohistory*, 31 (1984), 153-86.

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[2] In *Chicano Manifesto*, ed. Armando B. Renden. (New York: Collier Books, 1971), p. 336.

[3] (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972), p. 7.

[4] "Irredentism," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1st ed. (1937; rpt. New York: Macmillan, 1950), VIII, 325.

[5] Ibid., VIII, 326.

[6] "Majority of Mexicans in Poll View U.S. as 'Enemy'," *The Atlanta Constitution*, 26 Aug. 1986, Sec. A, p. 5.

[7] "Just Forget the Alamo! Ponder Yankees' Sins," *The New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1988, p. 4.

[8] See Gideon Kanner, "Whose Rights Are Being Trespassed Here?" *Los Angeles Times*, 22 Jan. 1990.

[9] See Ron Roach, "Assembly Calls for Delay in Building Border Ditch," *San Diego Tribune*, 26 May 1989, Sec. A, p. 6.

[10] See John C. Henry, "'Buy Texas,' Would Give Edge to Minorities," *Austin American-Statesman*, 31 May 1987, Sec. B, p. 2.

[11] See Debbie Graves, "Tuition Break OK'd for Mexican Citizens," *Austin American-Statesman*, 31 May 1987, Sec. B, p. 2.

[12] Patrice Armstrong, "Cisneros: U.S. Must Look South," *Albuquerque Journal*, 1 Feb. 1986, Sec. B, p. 2.

[13] See "Texas Lt. Governor Wants Open Borders," *Border Watch*, Mar. 1990, p. 4.

[14] See Wilfredo Ramirez, "Babbitt: Halve Mexico Debt to U.S.," *[San Antonio] Express News*, 28 June 1987, Sec. C, p. 1.

[15] (New York: Praeger, 1988), pp. 41-3.

[16] Barrera, p. 62.

[17] Barrera, p. 51.

[18] Barrera, p. 158.

[19] Barrera, p. 159.

[20] Barrera, p. 160.

[21] Barrera, p. 162.

[22] Barrera, pp. 162-3.

[23] Hurst Hannum and Richard Lillich, "The Concept of Autonomy in International Law," *The American Journal of International Law*, 74(4)(Oct. 1980), 886-7.

[24] Barrera, p. 163.

[25] Barrera, p. 164.

[26] Barrera, p. 171.

[27] Barrera, p. 172.

[28] See Linda Chavez, *Out of the Barrio: Toward a New Politics of Hispanic Assimilation*, (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 93.

[29] See Charles A. Stansfield, Jr., *New Jersey: A Geography*, (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983), p. 206.

Garrett Hardin Wins Phi Beta Kappa 1993 Science Book Award

Garrett Hardin, professor emeritus of human biology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, was one of three authors who received awards for "outstanding contributions to humanistic learning in 1993." The $2,500 award was presented at the annual Phi Beta Kappa Senate Banquet on December 3, 1993, in Washington, D.C.

Hardin received the Science Award for *Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics, and Population Taboos* (Oxford University Press, 1993). Felix Browder, professor of mathematics at Rutgers University, who chaired the science award committee, described Hardin's book as a "trenchant, learned, passionate analysis of the most difficult problem that confronts mankind since the threat of nuclear annihilation has dwindled — the threat of an apparently inevitable human overpopulation of the earth. His analysis ... brings forward all the issues involved: economic, social, religious, technological...."

[*Professor Hardin's speech, "Perpetual Growth: The Next Dragon Facing Biology Teachers," which contains the thesis advanced in his newest book, appears in this issue of* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT *on page 73.*]

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This is an English translation of a column that appeared in Excelsior, *the leading newspaper in Mexico City, on July 20, 1982.*

The Great Invasion

Mexico Recovers Its Own

By Carlos Loret de Mola

Los Angeles, California. This is the second largest Mexican city in the world for the number of our compatriots settled there, and it must have as many Spanish-speakers as Madrid. The Anglo-Saxons are still the most numerous and there are a lot of Negroes, but the numerical advance of Mexicans is astonishing. Ten movie houses at once show the Cantinflas comedy "El Barrendero." On the streets one has the impression of a great Mexican city. "La Opinion," with a circulation of 60,000 copies, is one of three daily newspapers in Spanish in this enormous country. When did the Mexicanization of Los Angeles happen?

It has been a sociological phenomenon of tremendous implications.

A peaceful mass of people, hardworking, carries out slowly and patiently an unstoppable invasion, the most important in human history. You cannot give me a similar example of such a large migratory wave by an ant-like multitude, stubborn, unarmed, and carried on in the face of the most powerful and best-armed nation on earth.

But neither barbed-wire fences, nor aggressive border guards, nor campaigns, nor laws, nor police raids against the undocumented, have stopped this movement of the masses that is unprecedented in any part of the world.

In 1950 they were called "Pachucos" (half-breeds); today they are called "Chicanos." They have marked social and family characteristics, agility for adapting to the environment and for conquering a great region, once primitive and virgin, that belonged to our fatherland, and we lost it. But it seems to be slowly returning to the jurisdiction of Mexico without the firing of a single shot, nor requiring the least diplomatic action, by means of a steady, spontaneous, and uninterrupted occupation.

These are not assault troops. Nor are they potentates who take over a territory through economic power and purchase of properties. They are a mass of workers, artisans, women, and students who arrive to reinforce the base of the common people and the human virtues of this society in California. Much like them, despised and persecuted, were the humble Christians in the sovereign empire of Rome; but the meek brought down the Caesars and established — for some 2,000 years now — their own style of life over those all-powerful enslavers of the ancient world.

There is a great difference in circumstances. Today we perceive as powerful those who control and manage U.S. society; and it seems crazy to dare to believe it, but let's not forget that great social movements, and changes in social structure, were done by populist forces, so long as they knew how to work together.

The United States is the richest and best organized country in the world, within the limitations of the capitalist system. Its industrial power and way of living absorbs immigrants and readily converts them to nationals. But the Mexicans in the southern part of this nation continue to be Mexican and even to impress their personality on their surroundings, in limited proportions and yet ever growing.

"[The American Southwest] seems to be slowly returning to the jurisdiction of Mexico without the firing of a single shot, nor requiring the least diplomatic action, by means of a steady, spontaneous and uninterrupted occupation."

Usually they take low-paying jobs; nevertheless, they put such industry, will-power, and self-interest into their job efforts — precisely because of unequal status in a hostile and deprecatory ambience — that they end up making themselves indispensable.

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California society does not dare to suppress them. The efforts of misguided authorities to expel them always end in failure. They (the Chicanos) are a social and physical reality that cannot be uprooted.

The U.S. upper classes in the western states live in increasing splendor. Their apogee of luxury and comfort doubtlessly marks the inevitable beginning of their decadence. The Mexican invasion continues.

Who are they? They are those who have a great capacity to take risks, the more ambitious, those with more character, the strongest from the rural and suburban areas of their home country. A human current of natural selection flows out of Mexico and settles down in the United States, where a second selection takes place. Those who are selected must meet two tests: that of leaving, with fortitude, their family and society and giving up familiar ways and customs; and then that of having the character to adapt to new working conditions. A human current with these qualities, if it can succeed in maintaining itself united and coherent, will end by winning. It's a question of time.

The territory lost in the 19th century by a Mexico torn by internal strife and under centralist dictatorships led by paranoid chiefs, like Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, seems to be restoring itself through a humble people who go on settling various zones that once were ours on the old maps.

Land, under any concept of possession, ends up in the hands of those who deserve it. All of us Mexicans should prove ourselves worthy of what we have and what we want. The problem is one of organization.

And those humble Mexicans — the braceros, the "wetbacks," the undocumented, teach us with their example of tough, iron-like character and their spirit of great adventure how to overcome a hostile environment. Let us imitate them from within the Mexico that belongs to us. ■

ANNOUNCEMENT

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Odie B. Faulk is the author of Arizona: A Short History *(University of Oklahoma Press) and of other standard volumes of Southwestern history. The following article first appeared in the August 1987 edition of* Chronicles *and is reprinted by permission.*

The War of Mexican Aggression

By Odie B. Faulk

Much of the news recently, especially in the Southwest, concerns the problem of illegal immigration from south of the border. Another frequent subject of media attention is the snowballing Mexican debt and the threat that this nation will not be able to meet its obligations. The two problems — a stagnant economy and mass exodus northward — are interrelated and show no signs of easy resolution.

Many of the reporters on Mexico's present financial and social chaos take pains to say that our neighbor would have a far greater ability to handle its debts and its problems had not the United States taken so large a slice of its territory in the war of 1846-1848. The Mexican War, as this conflict is mistakenly called, is pictured as a case of American aggression — what some commentators call "the most disgraceful episode in American history."

Every reader of textbooks about the American experience, from grade school to college level, *knows* that the United States instigated the war with Mexico in 1846, that James K. Polk deliberately plotted a conflict of aggression against a weak and helpless neighbor to acquire territory he coveted, and that every American should feel guilty about this episode.

This past week, when I heard this lie repeated yet again, I pulled from the shelf the first *Instructor's Manual* for a college American history text that came to hand. In it I found this suggested multiple-choice question: "President James K. Polk deliberately provoked war with Mexico in order to acquire (a) New Mexico (b) California (c) Texas (d) all of the above." The correct answer was "d." There was no asking *if* Polk had started the conflict. Rather, the only question was the amount of territory he intended to acquire. The cause of the war was American imperialism, pure and simple.

Even a cursory look at the facts reveals greater complexity than the standard textbook simplism — and a far different picture of where guilt should be assigned. Among the several reasons often cited as causes of the war between the United States and Mexico are:

First, Manifest Destiny. According to this theory, Americans in 1846 were united in believing that their nation had a divinely ordained destiny to rule all of North America. I suspect most frontiersmen, if accused of Manifest Destiny, would have shot first and inquired later what this might mean. Americans in 1846 were no more united in a single belief than are their descendants now. It is patently absurd to assert such a claim.

Second, cultural conflict. There have been charges that Americans and Mexicans hated each other, and this led to war. In the years since that war, there has been no great increase in love between the two nationalities, but this has not led to another war.

Third, the vacuum theory. This is the belief that "nature abhors a vacuum." Thus in 1846, when much of the Southwest was thinly populated, Americans rushed in to fill the empty space. A cursory glance at population statistics for Mexico in the 1980s shows that Baja California, Sonora, and Chihuahua still are thinly populated, but Americans have not rushed in to claim this land.

Fourth, a "slaveocracy conspiracy." In Congress in the 1840s the question of annexing Texas had been joined with the Whig Party's fight against the institution of slavery and any extension of it to additional territory. Southerners, according to some Whig orators, had conspired to introduce settlers in Texas, settlers who, at the proper moment would revolt against Mexico, then seek annexation to the United States so that slavery could spread westward. This claim was patently false. No evidence of such a conspiracy survives.

To justify this theory, a few Whigs proclaimed that Mexico owned all of Texas, a claim so ludicrous that most prominent Whigs contented themselves with asserting that Mexico owned at least that part of Texas between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande.

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This claim of the Neuces River as the rightful boundary, incidentally, was not made by any Mexican prior to the war. Whigs made it, because they saw it as an issue that might win them the next election, not because they necessarily believed it.

Fifth, a desire to annex California. That James K. Polk wanted California cannot be disputed. However, to argue that he would have started a war to get it is slanderous. The only war he ever dreamed about was the war on the Whigs.

In 1846 California was already lost to Mexico. The only question to be resolved was who would get it: England, the United States, or possibly France. California in the spring of 1846 had no schools or newspapers, no postal system, almost no police or court system, few books, and little protection against Indian raids from the interior. Even communication with Mexico was rare. Many Californians openly expressed their desire for annexation with the United States, while others favored English sovereignty. To add to the confusion there was a virtual civil war raging in the province as Governor Pio Pico contended with Colonel José Castro for domination. President Polk was aware of these currents of intrigue and would have been derelict in his duty to protect U.S. national interests, had he not tried to offset British and French designs in the region. With this in mind, Polk had the Pacific Squadron of the U.S. Navy standing by, just as he had Captain John Charles Fremont and a detachment of American soldiers operating in the area waiting for the right moment to intervene on behalf of American interests.

Sixth, the claims question. This concerned the payment of debts owed to American citizens by the Mexican government — legitimate debts somewhat inflated but which in that era were considered just cause for war. In 1838 France invaded Mexico (the so-called Pastry War) over claims owed French citizens. The claims issue had simmered between the United States and Mexico since 1829. In 1846 these had not been settled, but they did not cause the outbreak of fighting.

Finally, it was not the annexation of Texas to the Union that began the war with Mexico, although many historians have argued this. On March 1, 1845, president John Tyler signed the joint resolution calling for the annexation of Texas, and five days later Mexican Ambassador Juan N. Almonte demanded his passport and stormed out of the United States, asserting that the annexation of Texas amounted to a declaration of war. However, his actions were motivated by Mexican internal politics, not by any belief that Texas was still owned by Mexico. Texans had declared independence in 1836, had maintained that independence for almost ten years, and had been recognized as independent by the United States, England, France, and several other nations. Even Mexico in the summer of 1845 offered to totally recognize Texas independence, provided Texas would not join the Union.

Then what did cause the war between the United States and Mexico?

"...it was not the annexation of Texas to the Union that began the war with Mexico, although many historians have argued this."

After Mexico won its independence from Spain, two political parties emerged: The Centralists and the Federalists. The Centralists favored a strong central government, while the Federalists wanted a government patterned after that of the United States. In 1822-1823 the Centralists were in power. Then the Federalists assumed control and wrote the Constitution of 1824 establishing a federal republic.

Stable constitutional government lasted only until 1829 when there began a series of revolutions which culminated in 1835 when Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna overthrew the constitution and set himself up as dictator (which, incidentally, led to rebellion in seven Mexican states, including Texas.) Chaos followed with coup and counter-coup, revolution and counter-revolution. In 1845, when Texas sought annexation to the United States, the Federalists had regained power. Ambassador Almonte was the representative of a Centralist regime and expected to be ordered home momentarily. His protest at the annexation of Texas, therefore, was intended more to embarrass the Federalists and solidify popular support for the Centralists than to represent any genuine Mexican claim to Texas.

During the remainder of the year 1845, the Centralists used the issue of the annexation of Texas to work a majority of Mexicans into a war fever. President Polk that year tried every honorable means

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to avoid war. Early in his administration he inquired if the Federalist government in Mexico would receive a minister empowered to negotiate all points of difference between the two nations. Assured that such an ambassador would be received, Polk dispatched John Slidell with an offer to purchase New Mexico and California.

However, by the time Slidell arrived in Mexico, the Centralists had created such a climate of hatred than no government there could even talk with the United States. Slidell left Mexico without being able to discuss the issues. Then early in 1846 came yet another revolution in Mexico with the Centralists returning to power under the leadership of Mariano Paredes.

"The conflict of 1846-1848 was one in which the United States was clearly justified in its actions."

War broke out in 1846, primarily because Mariano Paredes and his advisors believed that such a war would be won by Mexico. They thought they could count on British aid in the event of war (a belief the British encouraged, for in 1845-46 they were negotiating the boundary between American and British holdings in Oregon country.) Moreover, French military observers were telling the Mexicans that they could win an easy victory over the United States. In 1846 Mexico had a regular army of 27,000 men, while the American army numbered 7,200. Moreover, the Mexicans were armed with more modern weapons and were better trained. The United States would have to fight with volunteers, and, reasoned the French observers, in any contest between regulars and volunteers the regulars would prevail. Also, for the United States to win, its army would have to invade Mexico across broad deserts where problems of supply alone would defeat them. However, if Mexicans invaded the United States, they would be joined by slaves revolting against their masters, and possibly by Indians, and there would be a triumphant march on Washington, D.C. This explains President Paredes' statement in the spring of 1846 that before he would negotiate with the Americans he would see the "Eagle and Serpent" of Mexico floating over the White House.

This attitude also explains President Paredes' letter to the commander of the Army of the North, General Pedro de Ampudia, on April 18, 1846: "At the present time I suppose you to be at the head of our valiant army, either fighting already or preparing for the operations of the campaign. ... It is indispensable that hostilities be commenced, yourself taking the initiative against the enemy." Paredes confidently expected the first news of victory from the north would cause the Mexican populace to rise up and proclaim him king.

Five days later, on April 23, 1846, the Mexican Senate in secret session declared a "defensive war" against the United States. The next day, April 24, long before either President Paredes' letter or the secret declaration of the Mexican Senate could have reached the Rio Grande, General Mariano Arista replaced General Ampudia as commander of Mexican forces on the northern frontier. Arista immediately issued orders form some 1,600 calvary to cross the Rio Grande and attack American forces on the north side of the river. That same afternoon a Mexican force came upon Captain William Thornton and about 60 American dragoons, and "American blood was shed on American soil."

The conflict of 1846-1848 was one in which the United States was clearly justified in its actions. It was a conflict in which our armed forces performed brilliantly and in which we exacted the just fruits of our victory. This also was a conflict which the Mexican government deliberately sought, one which they confidently expected to win. This war, more properly, should be called the "War of Mexican Aggression."

I can understand that Mexicans today, through a sense of national pride, may "whimper" that their inheritance was less than they expected. What I cannot understand is what impels so many Americans deliberately to ignore the facts and call this a disgraceful episode in our history. ■

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Was There Ever an Aztlan?

By K. L. Billingsley

Aztlan is a country with no borders and no government, but it has a militant student movement with big plans.

Some of the activists dream of the day when they can "liberate" a large portion of the southwestern United States, which they consider to have been stolen by *gringos*, and raise their own flag over it.

"The ultimate ideology of MEChA [the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan*] is the liberation of Aztlan," the entire southwestern portion of the United States, says Miguel Perez, the group's publicity chairman at California State University at Northridge.

Activists for MEChA, which subsists mostly on public funds, consider the region to be occupied by a foreign colonial power.

Though this sounds like a child's fantasy to Americans who live in this region, MEChA is a growing and increasingly militant presence on certain American campuses.

"The purpose of MEChA is the empowerment of our people," says Jacqueline Carrasco of University of California at Los Angeles.

An advocacy group to aid Chicanos in education and civil rights issues, MEChA promotes bilingual education and opposes the North American Free Trade Agreement, and some of its members endorse radical aims.

"They are irredentists — These are people who want to go back to pre-1848 borders and who believe that their land was stolen," says Linda Chavez, a former U.S. Civil Rights Commission member and author of "*Out of the Barrio.*"

Others don't disagree. "The concept of Aztlan is a varied one related to the legendary beginnings of the Aztecs," says Rudolfo Acuna, an outspoken Chicano activist and professor at Cal State Northridge.

Mr. Acuna said he does not know when there will be an actual country called Aztlan, but he clearly holds out the possibility. Like many in MEChA, Mr. Acuna feels "an affinity with Mexico" because "this country does not give you very much to feel part of."

For syndicated columnist Raoul Contreras of San Diego, "there never was a country called Aztlan and never will be."

Mr. Contreras, who prefers the designation Mexican-American, argues that the Aztecs never lived in what is now the Southwest and, since they originally came from Asia, "their mystical homeland is somewhere in Siberia."

Many historians also note that the Aztec empire mostly encompassed the area that is now southern Mexico and did not extend into the region claimed by MEChA as Aztlan.

Mr. Contreras argues that MEChA promotes "class warfare" and is composed of "children of the peasant class who don't see themselves ever being middle class." He's "glad people are getting together" and says MEChA makes "substantial points, but they make themselves look foolish when they rehash something that is now almost 150 years old."

"I never hear them complaining about all of Central America breaking off from Mexico. It all depends who is doing the stealing."

The activist Mr. Acuna, who describes himself as a socialist, says MEChA emerged in 1969, when the United Mexican American Students and Mexican American Student Association met in Santa Barbara and decided to "put all groups in MEChA."

MEChA members decline to estimate their overall membership. But Miguel Carillo, a high school teacher in Chula Vista, says MEChA chapters are in more than 90 percent of the high schools in San Diego and Los Angeles and almost every college and junior college in the area.

Moreover, MEChA groups now are on college campuses in some 10 states, including Washington, Colorado, Utah and Illinois. MEChA depends largely on public funds.

"Most chapters get their budget from the schools, sometimes from the associates students," says

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UCLA's Miss Carrasco. High school and junior high school chapters have to raise their own money.

The money MEChA receives from schools ranges from $100 at some campuses to nearly $8,000 annually at large schools such as Cal State Northridge, she said.

Student publications featuring MEChA material include *El Popo*, *Aztlan News*, *Chispas* and UCLA's *Gente de Aztlan*, whose "Universal Council of Elders" includes "Mother Earth," Marxist revolutionary Che Guevara, Augusto Cesar Sandino, Crazy Horse, Simon Bolivar and Salvadoran Stalinist Farabundo Marti.

Voz Fronteriza, published at the University of California at San Diego, bills itself as "the most wanted paper in Aztlan," seeking subscribers with this offer: "The pigs read our paper. Why shouldn't you?" A recent cover asked, "When will we come to the conclusion that revolution is the only solution?"

Voz staffers, who describe themselves as "*guerrilleros de la pluma*" (warriors of the pen), also produce a cable television program.

Asked what type of government he would prefer for Aztlan, Mr. Perez, MEChA's publicity chairman, replies without hesitation that "communism would be closest."

"Like Cuba, but a little broader than that," he says, noting that this is his personal view, though many others in MEChA share it.

Once Aztlan is established in the American Southwest, non-Chicanos "would have to be expelled" and anti-government demonstrations would have to be quashed "because you have to keep the power," Mr. Perez says.

Mr. Carillo, the high school teacher, says that much material in MEChA publications can be described as extremist but adds that such views do not play a dominant role in the group, especially at the high school level.

MEChA is "inclusive," Mr. Carillo says, and its purpose is to "explain our culture."

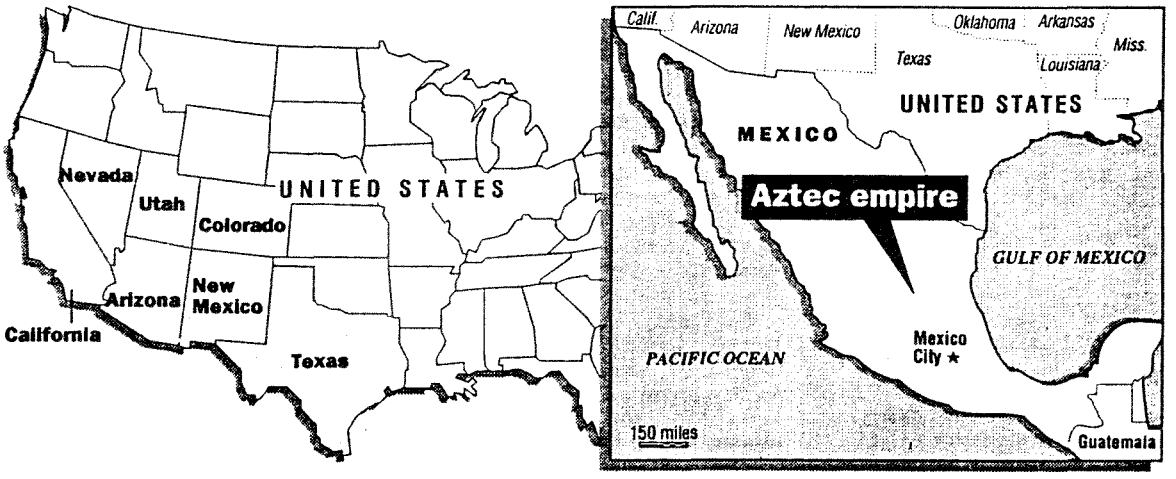
However, a case featured in Campus Culture Wars, a documentary now being broadcast on public television, shows that MEChA hard-liners can easily push out moderates.

Rudy Fuentes, the first Chicano to become student body president at Stanford University, helped revitalize the MEChA chapter on campus. Yet he soon found himself confronted by a faction that wanted to ally with more radical groups and rejected his practice of working within the system.

The hard-liners surrounded Mr. Fuentes, poking him and calling him a "vendido," or sellout. "Their intent was to instill fear," he says. ■

CLAIMS OF EMPIRE

The Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan claims the Southwest of the United States as Aztlan, the ancient Aztec empire. But historians say the Aztec empire did not extend north of Mexico.



Henry Christopher / The Washington Times

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Gerda Bikales is a writer and public policy analyst who has long been active in the defense of English as the common language of the United States, including a term as executive director of U.S.English.

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo: Truth and Consequences

For the radical Chicano dedicated to keeping dreams of a mythical lost empire of Aztlan alive, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo is an essential prop. Nearly 150 years after its signing, the treaty that ended the Mexican-American War in 1848 is routinely cited as legal justification for the growing demands that the Spanish language — the cultural foundation from which Aztlan is to rise — must be granted a measure of official recognition in the United States. The treaty, we are told repeatedly, guarantees the people of the annexed territories, and their descendants, the right to maintain the language of Mexico in perpetuity.

One encounters this assertion in indignant "Letters to the Editor" that denounce the imposition of American culture and of English, in defiance of terms of the treaty. One hears the claim repeated in the passionate oratory of Latino activists exhorting their constituents. One sees references to it in Congressional testimony presented by Hispanic leaders who, one suspects, actually do know better.

Politicians, journalists and writers on Mexican-Americans frequently allude to the existence of a provision in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo to keep Spanish entrenched in the territories once controlled by Mexico. Earl Shorris, in a reference work entitled *Latinos: A Biography of a People* (1992), writes of "the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which promised citizenship, freedom to choose their religion and language ... to the Mexicans who lived in territories ceded to the U.S. after the Mexican War...." In the midst of the campaign for passage of Proposition 63, a 1986 citizen initiative to declare English the official language of California, the state's top legal officer, Attorney General John K. Van de Kamp, asserted that the proposal would violate the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Challenged about the accuracy of his claim by this writer, Van de Kamp's office quickly issued a retraction:

> *It turns out that the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo contains no mention of Spanish or English.... While it is certainly possible that Proposition 63 may have constitutional flaws, it would appear that violating the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo is not one of them.*

The public response to the Attorney General's blunder was quite unusual. Most advocates pressing for a bilingual Spanish/English America, and basing their case upon the Spanish-language rights allegedly granted in the treaty, are greeted by embarrassed silence rather than sharp questioning. Few of us are familiar with the details of this important document, and even fewer are willing to admit our ignorance. Most of us have vague memories from high school history classes about a war with Mexico which fulfilled a young America's expansionist aspirations to reach its "manifest destiny" — to be a mighty nation stretching across the continent from sea to shining sea.

We now live in a period of orchestrated and unending collective self-flagellation about our country's many sins, both real and imagined, and we are programmed to be uncomfortable about any war we have won — all the more so about one in which we acquired vast stretches of rich territory. We are expected to be self-conscious and timid rather than disputatious and assertive. So it is that the claims about Spanish language rights being in the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo often go unchallenged — the truths remain unexposed — and the unscrupulous are free to take full advantage of our ignorance of the facts to promote their irredentist agenda.

Those who take the trouble to locate and read this treaty entitled "Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement" will be surprised to find that such an obscure document makes for lively and interesting reading. It's spirit is not punitive or demeaning, but

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friendly and hopeful. It speaks of a sincere desire on the part of both countries "to put an end to the calamities of war which unhappily exists between the two Republics, and to establish upon a solid basis relations of peace and friendship, which shall confer reciprocal benefits upon the citizens of both...."

The treaty offered residents in the ceded territories the right to stay

> *where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof and removing the proceeds wherever they please; without being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax or charge whatever.*

Within a year of the treaty's ratification, residents would have to choose affirmatively to keep their Mexican citizenship, or to become citizens of the United States. Those making no selection were to be considered United States citizens.

The treaty also addressed the property rights of absentee Mexican owners of ceded lands, which were to be

> *inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it, guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.*

The treaty gave assurances of the incorporation of the people living in the territories into the Union of the United States, at a time to be judged by the Congress, and of their admission "to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Constitution." And while awaiting their entry into the Union, they "shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction."

The fact of the matter is that the choice offered was between United States citizenship (on an equal footing with all other U.S. citizens) and Mexican citizenship. It was religious freedom — the very hallmark of American democracy — that received special emphasis, no doubt to reassure a Catholic population joining a Protestant majority. Nowhere were languages given as an option, nor granted special protection.

The maintenance of the Spanish language in the American West and Southwest, or anywhere else in the country, is not a treaty obligation incumbent upon the American people. They are free to assert with confidence that English is indeed our public language — by tradition, by the imperatives of national unity, and by right. ■

[*A copy of* Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement *(The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo) may be ordered from* **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**, *316½ E. Mitchell St., Petoskey, MI 49770 for a cost of $2.50 including postage and handling.*]

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Samuel Francis holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of North Carolina and is a nationally syndicated columnist for the Washington Times. *This article appears as the foreword to* Importing Revolution *by William R. Hawkins which has just been released by the American Immigration Control Foundation, Monterey, Virginia.*

Funding "Demographic Warfare"

By Samuel Francis

In the 1980s, conventional wisdom began to hold that "Marxism is dead everywhere except on American college campuses." Like much that passes for conventional wisdom, the claim was not exactly true, but by the end of the decade, with the overthrow of communist governments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the American university seemed to stand out as just about the only institution north of Havana and west of Pyongyang where you could easily locate anyone who openly admitted being a Marxist.

On American campuses, Marxism continued to flourish at the same time it was withering away in most other places. The cults of "political correctness," "multiculturalism," "Afrocentrism," feminism, "gay and lesbian studies," and similar ideologies and movements often harbored Marxist premises in one form or another, though they combined and tried to buttress those premises with a body of scholarship so shoddy it would have humiliated the original Bolsheviks themselves, not to speak of those dead white males who were responsible for so much tyranny in the modern world, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

While most of the cults and movements gained notoriety in the 1980s as they threatened professional standards of serious learning and even the careers of students and teachers who fell afoul of their dogmas, there was another, similar cult that seemed to escape attention. All through the 1970s and 1980s, almost from the time when the Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the "national origins" standard for immigration into the United States, a small band of Marxists and left-leaning radicals was working to exploit the new law, and the new masses of immigrants that soon began to arrive in its wake, as political weapons against the United States.

Now at last, William R. Hawkins has exposed and documented their work — who they were, how they operated, and (most important) who paid for it. His answers ought to give a lot of Americans pause as they start considering what has been going on while their attentions were directed elsewhere.

The constant theme of Mr. Hawkins in this thoroughly researched monograph is the conjunction of two seemingly contradictory and hostile forces — the Marxist socialism of the "immigration lobby," which includes not only the political activists among the immigrants themselves but also their army of lawyers and propagandists, and the financial power accumulated by American capitalism that has been stashed away in large tax-exempt foundations.

Specifically, Mr. Hawkins shows how leftists, Marxists, and anti-Americans in the immigration lobby were supported and encouraged by one of the largest and wealthiest philanthropic institutions in the world, the Ford Foundation. Virtually from the beginnings of the political side of the immigration movement, Ford has devoted immense sums to it to assist its legal, "educational," and policy-influencing activities, and at almost every node and juncture of Ford's philanthropy, the recipients have been partisans of the far left.

Thus, Mr. Hawkins shows that MALDEF, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, was established with grants of $2.2 million from the Ford Foundation in 1968 and that Ford awarded more than $5,500,000 to MALDEF from 1983 through 1988. In 1986, Ford trustee Harriet Schaffer Rabb joined the board of MALDEF, thus wedding the two organizations in a marriage that could spawn only more mischievous offspring. If MALDEF were simply a "humanitarian" effort, this level of support might be unremarkable, but the fact is that from its very origins, as Mr. Hawkins also shows, MALDEF's legal work has been under the control of members of the radical-left National Lawyers Guild and like-minded organizations.

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Thus, he writes, "MALDEF's principal immigration policy advisor during the 1980s was Linda Wong, also a prominent member of the NLG [National Lawyers Guild] National Immigration Project." Wong was also supportive of the so-called "Sanctuary" movement, which in the early 1980s devoted itself to smuggling illegal aliens into the United States, ostensibly for humanitarian purposes but really for the goal of subverting U.S. anti-communist policies in Central America. Sanctuary itself may originally have been conceived by Guild activists in 1980, and certainly it received their support throughout its history. Here too the money trail leads to the doors of the Ford Foundation, which between 1984 and 1989 gave $2.6 million to organizations involved in Sanctuary activities.

The financial links between Ford, MALDEF, and Sanctuary are merely a few examples of the connections Mr. Hawkins uncovers, and it is impossible to reflect on the pattern he has exposed without thinking of the famous (though probably apocryphal) remark attributed to Lenin to the effect that when the communists got around to hanging the capitalists, the capitalists themselves would sell them the rope. What even Lenin never fully anticipated, perhaps, is that the capitalists would forego the hope of profiting from their own execution and actually donate the rope and endow research toward constructing a better noose. That, in a word, is what the Ford Foundation has done with its money.

What much of Mr. Hawkins research points toward is the existence for some years of a coordinated strategy on the part of the Marxist left and its cohorts to use immigration as an instrument of national subversion. As he notes, there is a close affinity between what some proponents of large-scale Mexican and Latin American immigration say and what classic Marxist-Leninists have written about American "imperialism," and some of the former have actually worked for the disintegration of the United States as a unified nation-state.

One such activist intones that "today the movement is toward separatism, with the goal of increasing awareness in a small but unified Chicano community that is inner-directed instead of being directed from without. ... The Chicano people seek self-determination in what were formerly and rightfully their lands, not those of 'Anglo-America.'" Some years ago, surveying similar trends in a monograph for the London-based Institute for the Study of Conflict,[1] I suggested the term "demographic warfare" to denote the concept of instigating and exploiting mass population movements from one nation to another (e.g, the Mariel Boatlift of 1980) for the purposes of political and social destabilization, and information discussed here by Mr. Hawkins appears to be consistent with that interpretation of the Mariel phenomenon. If Fidel Castro can understand it, there's no reason others couldn't think of it all by themselves, and indeed, it is not unusual for one or another of the illuminati of immigration to betray such plans in their more unguarded moments.

"I suggested the term 'demographic warfare' to denote the concept of instigating and exploiting mass population movements from one nation to another ... for the purposes of political and social destabilization..."

Destabilization need not be carried out with violence or under the control of hostile foreign powers. Thus, one of the quotations culled by Mr. Hawkins directly illustrates this tactic of ethnic mobilization for political purposes: "If current immigration and birth rates continue, by the year 2000, Latinos will be the largest minority group in the United States. Since 85 percent of all Spanish-speaking people are concentrated in nine states and twenty cities that control 193 (or 71 percent) of the electoral votes needed to win the Presidency, they constitute a critical swing vote in future elections."

This sentiment was not expressed by a foe of immigration fearful of the nation's being swamped by swarthy hordes of Hispanics in alliance with liberal Democrats, but by Sheila Collins, national coordinator of The Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, and Mr. Jackson's Operation PUSH also just happened to be well-endowed by the Ford Foundation. In short, the massive immigration into the United States in the last two decades serves the interests of radical political agendas that most Americans find abhorrent, and elements of the extreme left have pushed and supported it for precisely that purpose.

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These agendas include not only the actual destabilization and dismemberment of the United States, as evidenced by the remarks quoted above, but also possible terrorist and criminal activities directed toward that end, as well as peaceful (more or less) mobilization of immigrant constituencies for political purposes and Sanctuary's manipulation of immigrants to subvert U.S. foreign policy. But they also include another dimension of cultural subversion, to be implemented through schools, universities, and religious organizations. The advantage of this approach is that it is non-violent and legal and indeed relies to a large extent on American pluralism and liberalism to carry out its goals.

Thus, Jim Corbett, often called the "father of the Sanctuary movement," discussed this strategy explicitly some years ago. "With respect to this kind of strategic advantage," Mr. Corbett said of Sanctuary's ulterior goals, "non-violent insurgency is actually far superior to guerrilla insurgency because it requires no arms supply — just government reaction — in order to maintain momentum and establish the leverage needed for social jujitsu." The concept of "social jujitsu," indeed, is crucial for an understanding of the long-term strategy of the modern left, which no longer depends on bomb-throwing and KGB subsidies as much as it does on Antonio Gramsci's designs for a "long march through the institutions" for the purpose of acquiring "cultural hegemony."

It is precisely by using the institutions of American society against themselves that the left's "social jujitsu" operates to acquire "cultural hegemony," just as real jujitsu works by using the strength, size, and power of an opponent against him. The great advantage that cultural dominance has for whoever obtains it is that it allows them to determine the agenda, to define issues and the terms of public discussion, so that debates are won before they are even engaged. As the ancient Chinese strategist Sun Tzu noted in a famous remark, "To win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill."[2]

Immigration offers a bottomless pit of opportunities for just this kind of cultural subversion because Americans of all political convictions, right and left, find it difficult to discuss immigration apart from slogans about being "a nation of immigrants," taking in the teeming masses, and so forth. As long as these are the terms that frame the immigration debate, it will remain a battle lost before it is even fought, and indeed this is one reason it has not been fought before now. In order to cut through and redefine the terms of the debate, there will have to be some fresh thinking about immigration and its effects on American culture and political life.

There are indeed groups and individuals that are guilty of fresh thinking on the subject — The Rockford Institute's *Chronicles*, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, the American Immigration Control Foundation, the U.S. Business and Industrial Council, experts and authors like Lawrence Auster, Peter Brimelow of *Forbes*, Wayne Lutton, and Mr. Hawkins himself — but the predictable response, from left as well as right, to most of their labors has been to mutter about "xenophobia," "nativism," and "racism." Since these labels usually mean nothing, it is seldom possible to respond to such charges definitively, and indeed the main purpose of making the charges in the first place is to make certain that no debate takes place.

"Immigration offers a bottomless pit of opportunities for just this kind of cultural subversion because Americans of all political convictions, right and left, find it difficult to discuss immigration apart from slogans..."

One piece of evidence of the meaninglessness of such labels comes from a recent opinion survey of attitudes toward immigration among Hispanics conducted by the Latino National Political Survey. Among non-Hispanic whites who are U.S. citizens, 74 percent agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "There are too many immigrants." Among Mexican-American U.S. citizens, 75 percent agreed or strongly agreed, while 66 percent of Cubans and 79 percent of Puerto Ricans agreed or strongly agreed. Among non-U.S. citizens, 73 percent of Cubans and 84 percent of Mexicans agreed or strongly agreed. The point is that Hispanics themselves are opposed to more immigration, at least as strongly and maybe even

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more than non-Hispanic whites.[3]

A debate that has taken place is the one over "multiculturalism" and curricula based on it in schools and universities, and both liberals like Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. and conservatives of all kinds have generally agreed on the dangers to serious education it represents. What few have noticed, however, is that multiculturalism is a problem at all only because of the long-term effects of massive immigration from non-Western societies in the last two decades, and that the apologists for multiculturalism have themselves insisted on the importance of immigration as a principal reason for the imposition of multiculturalist curricula. Thus, the now-notorious "Curriculum of Inclusion" proposed in 1989 for the New York state school system explicitly invoked the cultural changes in New York life that massive immigration is causing:

> *The fact is that in New York the presence of a heterogeneous student body is a state-wide condition, not just an urban condition. One half of the counties of New York state have at least one school district with over 10 percent non-European American enrollment; furthermore, over 22 percent of all school districts in the state have over 10 percent non-European American enrollment.*

and a similar New York multiculturalist curriculum proposal in 1991, "One Nation, Many Peoples," made much the same argument.

> *Since the 1960s, however, a profound reorientation of the self-image of Americans has been under way. Before this time the dominant model of the typical American had been conditioned primarily by the need to shape a unified nation out of a variety of contrasting and often conflicting European immigrant communities. But following the struggles for civil rights, the unprecedented increase in non-European immigration over the last two decades and the increasing recognition of our nation's indigenous heritage, there has been a fundamental change in the image of what a resident of the United States is.*
>
> *With this change, which necessarily highlights the racial and ethnic pluralism of the nation, previous ideals of assimilation to an Anglo-American model have been put in question and are now slowly and painfully being set aside.*

Immigration, in other words, is held to be incompatible with retention of the traditional "Anglo-American" model or identity of the United States, and there is little doubt that this argument is valid. Indeed, the cultural homogeneity of the American people at the time of the adoption of the U.S. Constitution was held by John Jay and other Framers to be an indispensable condition of national political unity. In Federalist No. 2, Jay wrote that

> *Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs, and who, by their joint counsels, arms and efforts, fighting side by side throughout a long and bloody war, have nobly established their general Liberty and Independence.*

Insofar as the immigration into the United States of culturally disparate peoples removes the cultural unity that is the foundation of national political unity, immigration must be seen as a threat to the United States as a coherent and sovereign nation, and since the unity of which Jay wrote and which has obtained ever since has been essentially an Anglo- and Euro-American one, the immigration of large numbers of non-European peoples must be seen as incompatible with the fundamental cultural and political identity of the United States.

Any nation or politically and culturally unified society must define itself in large part through a shared past and a determination to preserve and continue the achievements of its ancestors, and the introduction of large numbers of people who do not have the same ancestors must necessarily dilute its sense of a common past and of national unity. How indeed would it be possible today for Lincoln to speak of "our forefathers," as he did at Gettysburg, without being condemned for ignoring or belittling the contributions of more recent Americans whose forefathers had nothing to do with what the forefathers of Americans in 1863 had accomplished?

Why, indeed, should a West or an America that defines itself exclusively in terms of "pluralism,"

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"diversity," "tolerance," "the open society," and "equality" expect masses of immigrants to abandon their native cultures and adopt those of the West or America? Non-Western immigrants may find the affluence of American capitalism, the gratification and entertainment of American pop culture, and the glamour of political power in American mass democracy preferable to those of their own cultures, but why should Americans expect Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans to identify with the deeper symbols, institutions, and achievements of the West, from the wars of the Greeks against the Persians to the conquest of the American Plains or from the Ptolemaic system of astronomy to the Big Bang theory of modern astrophysics?

"...in order to curb immigration, it is necessary first to assert the existence, integrity, and legitimacy of the Western and American way of life..."

Since a good deal of Western and American civilization revolves around the political and military conquest or defeat of non-Western enemies, it is hard to see how these triumphs of the West can be retained as positive accomplishments in the midst of a student population composed of large non-Western fragments. There can be little question that the multiculturalists are logically right in drawing from the premise of massive non-Western immigration into the United States the conclusion that traditional Western and American self-images and models must be at least qualified if not abandoned. The proper response to their argument, if Western culture is to be preserved as the main part of the school curriculum, is not to challenge their logic but to challenge the premise — that is, to halt or severely curtail the immigration that is at the root of much of the anti-Western multiculturalist strategy and which provides a never-ending stream of constituents for multiculturalist energies and anti-American agendas.

But in order to curb immigration, it is necessary first to assert the existence, integrity, and legitimacy of the Western and American way of life — to assert, in other words, the legitimacy of a "we" against the demands of a "they." Liberal and neo-conservative bleatings about "pluralism" and "diversity" will do nothing to identify a core of Western and American values, habits, and institutions that distinguish us from the non-Western and non-American cultural fragments that suddenly appear at our door demanding that we change the architecture of the whole house. Until Americans, left and right, are more willing to assert their own cultural identity and distinctiveness as a people and a nation, they will be unable to mount any effective or persuasive argument why "our" way of life should prevail over others that are proposed as alternatives or even to claim that "we" have a way of life at all.

What William Hawkins has accomplished in this meticulous study of the political exploitation of immigration and immigrants as well as exploitation of the vulnerabilities of American society by the far left is to show that many of the forces pressing for more immigration, more legal rights for immigrants, and more social services and political power for immigrants are not well disposed to the American way of life in any sense, that in fact they are and have been intent on subverting it and are enemies of it. His study is therefore a critical step in informing Americans that we and our way of life do indeed have enemies, and once we learn that, we may be able someday to get around to figuring out how and why those enemies should be defeated and how and why we the American People should survive and flourish. ■

NOTES

[1] Samuel T. Francis, "Illegal Immigration — A Threat to U.S. Security," *Conflict Studies*, No. 192 (October, 1986), pp. 16-17.

[2] Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 77.

[3] Roberto Suro, "Hispanic Pragmatism Seen in Survey," *New York Times*, December 15, 1992, p. A20.

[Copies of *Importing Revolution* by William R. Hawkins are available from the American Immigration Control Foundation, Box 525, Monterey, VA 24465. The cost is $10.00 which includes postage and handling.]

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Associate Editor Wayne Lutton, Ph.D., has taught courses on Latin American history and politics. He is author, co-author, or contributor to ten books and monographs, including The Immigration Invasion, *written with John Tanton.*

The Bandit as Revolutionary Hero

By Wayne Lutton

Afro-centric education — the attempt to foist a largely fictitious African-American history upon us — has its counterpart among our residents of Mexican descent. Chicano-activists have not gone so far as to claim that virtually every advance in philosophy, mathematics, physics, and science was the work of Latinos, but they do argue that Latino culture would have flowered magnificently had it not been for the baleful influence of European whites who settled the southwestern part of the North American continent in the mid-19th century.

GRINGO JUSTICE
By Alfredo Mirandé
Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1990
261 pp., $29.95 hardcover
$11.95 paperback text edition.

Gringo Justice, by Alfredo Mirandé, is representative of "Chicano-centrism." Widely used as a text in college courses in Chicano Studies and Minority Awareness, the author's thesis is that Chicanos are an exploited people who have been labeled as banditos and criminals by a white colonial system. "Gringos" are "oppressors" who "find it necessary to distort history so that it will conform to and justify the socially created order."

Mr. Mirandé, who has been a professor of sociology at the University of California at Riverside, traces the history Chicano-white legal relations since the end of the Mexican-American War. [Few recall today — and this book does not remind us — that it was Mexico that opened hostilities in 1848. At the time, British and French military observers expected Mexico to win, and the outcome was as much a surprise to them as it was to the warhawks in Mexico City.] The author, larding his prose with Marxist jargon, sees banditry as a form of social protest and "a response to the decline of a feudal society and the imposition of capitalism." Lawbreaking, in his view, is nothing less than noble resistance to Gringo oppression.

In his chapter, "Vigilantes, Bandits, and Revolutionaries," Mr. Mirandé portrays a number of Mexican outlaws who operated in the California and New Mexico territories as ideologically-motivated heroes. Tiburcio Vasquez of Monterey, who was hanged in 1875 after a quarter-century career of horse thieving and cattle rustling, turned to crime, students are informed, out of a concern for the protection of Mexican womanhood. Oddly, it was Rosario Leiva, a spurned mistress and wife of his first lieutenant, who played the key role in his capture and prosecution.

Another of Professor Mirandé's heroes is Joaquin Murieta, dubbed "the Robin Hood of the West." In a two-year spree, Murieta attacked white miners and ranchers in the Sonora area. Legend has it that this outburst was prompted by seeing his girl-friend ravished before his very eyes by a gang of white claim jumpers. In fact, he shot her after she deserted him for a white settler named Baker. Murieta was killed by California Rangers on July 24, 1853, and his pickled head was part of a museum collection that fell victim to the San Francisco earthquake of 1906.

In February, 1915, a Texas sheriff arrested a Mexican national by the name of Basilio Ramos, and uncovered an insurrection blueprint called *El Plan de San Diego* — something Mr. Mirandé calls "an important document that articulated the numerous grievances of the ... [Hispanic] population in South Texas." *El Plan* called for a general uprising by non-whites, to be launched on February 20, 1915. A "liberation army" of Mexicans, blacks, Japanese (!), and Indians was to win independence from "Yankee Tyranny." Every white male over the age of 16 was to be executed, as well as all "traitors" who cooperated with the Anglo enemy."

The objective of *El Plan* was the creation of racial homelands: a black nation in the southeastern United States, a new Mexican republic in the five

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southwestern states, and an Indian nation based on ancestral lands. What the Japanese were to get for their efforts remains unclear. Mirandé regrets that "historians and other scholars have tended to minimize the importance of *El Plan*, or to dismiss it as a wild, unrealistic scheme."

"Gringo Justice is about as far removed from neutral, academic scholarship as it is possible to get."

Turning to the present, Mirandé charges that "wanton killing" of Chicanos by the Border Patrol and local American police forces is "endemic" and that "atrocities have been committed...with relative impunity." These brutal acts remain unspecified and undocumented. In fact, attacks by Mexicans against the Border Patrol and police throughout the Southwest are increasingly common.

The author reports that the U.S.-Mexico border now resembles a "war zone" in many sectors, especially those where illegal aliens trying to enter this country are robbed, raped, assaulted, and killed. What he fails to point out is that the perpetrators of these crimes are almost without exception other Mexican nationals or members of cross-border Latino gangs. Contrary to the impression Mirandé tries to create, immigrants are not being preyed upon by white Americans.

Mr. Mirandé informs his reader that Chicanos, like blacks, view law enforcement officers as "agents of lawlessness, injustice, and abuse." While he admits that Chicano gangs are heavily involved in America's urban drug trade, Mr. Mirandé hastens to add that Chicano crime is, in the final analysis, the result of "a clash between conflicting and competing cultures and worldviews." In the sense that traditional Western European-American culture does not countenance drug taking, public drunkenness, and territorial gang warfare, he is right.

Gringo Justice is about as far removed from neutral, academic scholarship as it is possible to get. Yet it was written with the help of a Rockefeller Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship, a grant from the University of California at Riverside, a federal National Research Council Postdoctoral Fellowship, and support from the Stanford Center for Chicano Research. Mr. Mirandé also acknowledges financial assistance from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), which is a tax-exempt organization liberally supported by the Ford Foundation. Moreover, the book is published by the Notre Dame Press, one of the premier Catholic university presses in the world.

This book is one of the most popular texts in the courses on "Minority Cultures" that are proliferating as required subjects on our college campuses. *Gringo Justice* serves as a sober reminder of the direction and success enjoyed by the campaign to support "diversity," "inclusion," and all the other excuses for anti-European-American propaganda. ■

Immigration and Black Unemployment

The census data show dramatic declines in African-American ewmployment in fields where immigarnts made big gains. Since 1980 while the number of black, U.S.-born bank tellers fell 39% to 3,555, the figure for foreign-born tellers climbed 56% to 15,679. Likewise, while employment of African-American hotel maids and housemen dropped 30% to 2,846, the immigrant total skyrocketed 166% to 32,273.

— Roger Waldinger, sociologist
University of California at Los Angeles
Quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, November 15, 1993

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The editors solicited critiques of John Tanton's essay, "End of the Migration Epoch?," which appeared in the Spring 1994 issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, *(Vol. IV, No. 3). We reprint them here, together with Tanton's answers to these criticisms.*

Critiques of 'End of the Migration Epoch?'

Summary of the Tanton Argument

Three main "pillars" account for today's high migration levels and the even higher levels some project for the future. These pillars are: the dramatic increase in human numbers, the growing ease of international transportation, and improvements in communication — all of which stimulate interest in and facilitate migration.

In opposition there is growing resistance to newcomers. Among the 170-plus member states of the United Nations, only a handful are willing to accept any significant number of immigrants or refugees for *permanent* resettlement. There are no virgin continents left awaiting tens of millions of newcomers.

Which of this set of forces will prevail? And to what degree? Tanton believes the forces working to limit and restrict immigration will win out, but recognizes that the forces are massive on both sides and the outcome essentially unpredictable.

Tanton closes by offering a new paradigm for understanding international migration, and a proposed set of ethical principles to guide policy makers.

Do Not Assume the Nation-State is a Permanent Factor in World Affairs

by William H. McNeill

[*Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Chicago, William McNeil is a past-president of the American Historical Association, and author of* The Rise of the West *(1963) and* Plagues and Peoples *(1976). His book,* Polyethnicity and National Unity in World History, *was reviewed in Vol. III, No. 4 of* THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, *Summer 1993, p. 294.*]

I disagree with the Tanton essay on several points, of which the one most obvious is his exaggeration of the role of doctors in reducing disease losses. They killed almost as many as they cured before about 1750. Population growth resulted from a far-ranging set of variables — better food supplies, and disease homogenization chief among them. Jenners' vaccine *was* important; he misdates it, however. [ed. note: it was 1796, not 1776.]

Point 2: the world has never been empty from the time our Paleolithic ancestors spread across the habitable lands. The Indians filled the Americas — given their level of technology — and were killed and displaced by newcomers — mainly by new infectious diseases. Throughout the formerly isolated lands of the earth, the native populations (often very substanial in number) were decimated by the diseases the newcomers brought. It often took no more than breathing in the presence of the disease inexperienced — small pox, for example, is spread in this way.

Point 3: I see no reason to assume that the modern nation-state is a permanent factor in world affairs. It was invented about 300 years ago; maybe one ought to say in 1776 and 1789: and like all other human artifacts is likely to decay in time. There are clear signs that it has begun to decay already.

Point 4: as long as great differences of life possibilities exist across boundaries that are permeable, people will use their ingenuity to move to more favorable places. That has been going on always as far as I know. I do not suppose therefore that the age of migration has ended. On the contrary, I suspect that it will increase in the foreseeable future — say the next hundred years, legally or illegally. There are, after all, people within the rich countries who employ poor newcomers, and they are likely to collaborate with illegals — and have considerable political clout within the receiving society. And successful transplants tend to bring others after time.

This does not lead me to think that unregulated frontiers are desirable. But how to police them and what measures to take to keep people out is unclear to me. The Tanton recipe would require a Berlin-wall

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type of guard: and very brutal police intrusion on persons living within the borders of the U.S. and other similar countries. This seems a high price to pay. Letting everybody in would also be extremely costly to existing ways of life and civility. I do not have a clear answer to what a wise policy would be. Close enough to what we have — legal prohibition of all but a few; and illegals not so very numerous as to overwhelm existing patterns of society seem bearable to me. The real test will come if some massive upheaval breaks out, e.g. in Mexico. That could precipitate the flight of millions in a very short time. Blocking their flight would be brutal.

"...sooner or later nature will limit human numbers if human behavior does not do it first."

I quite agree that migration is unlikely to relieve population pressures in most of the earth. Even with free migration, that could not happen. But sooner or later, nature will limit human numbers if human behavior does not do it first. Changes in human behavior are taking place, and I believe it is true that birth rates are going down a bit in the most overcrowded countries. The swing can be quite sudden if and when a tip point is reached — witness what happened in Quebec after WW II.

But for the coming hundred years or so, the earth is going to be very crowded for sure, and living standards will be under severe stress for very large numbers of people. That is likely to mean violence, perhaps also epidemics of enormous proportions. Perhaps also new food resources — farming the seas or the like — and maybe some chemical manufacture of food from sunlight and appropriate raw materials. So under the pressure of numbers and ensuing difficulties, human ingenuity may find ways of doing things that will work better than today — and alter our customs and institutions in unforeseen but perhaps quite radical ways.

No act of will can stop that sort of tide: and national decision to police borders with ferocity will not help. It might become retrograde in fact, arousing hostility from the other side that the rich minority could not easily cope with.

* * *

Can It Be Done Humanely?

By Robert Strider

[*Robert E. L. Strider is a retired Professor of English and President-Emeritus of Colby College, Waterville, Maine.*]

I have read with interest and admiration the essay entitled *"End of the Migration Epoch?"* in **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**. First of all, it provides an excellent historical survey with illuminating diagrams. The problems of the 20th and 21st centuries are well stated. I agree that automatic migration, at will, into any country, which has been customary for decades, can no longer be considered acceptable. The demographic data prohibit that possibility.

Further, population control, as you say in the article, is essential. And I agree that each nation should henceforth take the responsibility for the welfare of its own people. It would be not only a commendable practice but a realizable ideal, within realistic limits. It would not be true at this time for Somalia, Rwanda, or probably Bosnia, but it would be an ideal worth working toward.

Questions can be raised, though, in several other areas, as follows:

(a) It would certainly be desirable, and eventually it will be essential, for illegal immigration to be ended. But can it be done without draconian and inhuman mechanisms to bring about this objective? Where is the line to be drawn between a theoretical objective that might involve inhumane procedures to bring about, and the customarily humane attitude toward human problems that an enlightened democracy stands for? I continue to think we would not countenance, as American citizens or as reasonably enlightened citizens of a civilized world, measures such as those that were in our memory taken by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

(b) Setting limits on legal immigration is essential, but can we do it without invoking such principles as triage? Can immigration be limited fairly rather than arbitrarily? Is there a humane and rational way to determine whom to admit and whom to reject? Can this be done without establishing racial quotas? Perhaps not, but as we work toward articulating a policy, that is one of the big questions.

(c) I am not convinced that every possible haven for immigrants is now "fully occupied." There is hopeless congestion, of course, in Miami, probably in

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southern California, in New York, and in some of the northern cities like Detroit. But there are vast reaches that are still sparsely populated, some in the U.S. and others in Canada, Scandinavia, the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere. Isn't the challenge to work out a system of organized immigration in selected areas rather than to try to develop a program for the future that involves no immigration at all?

(d) Is this a problem for the United Nations? I don't think the U.S. can solve it unilaterally, as I don't think the U.S. should be expected to solve any of the formidable problems of today's world unilaterally. If the U.S would pay up its U.N. arrears I would feel a good bit more comfortable about calling upon the international community to address these problems! With the help of the U.S., of course.

* * *

Unpersuasive, Utopian and Cruel

by Bruce Fein

[*Mr. Fein is a constitutional and international lawyer and a syndicated newspaper columnist. He was former Associate Deputy Attorney General during the Reagan Administration.*]

John H. Tanton's urgent call for an immigration new deal ("End of the Migration Epoch?") smacks of the apocalyptic. But it seems unpersuasive, utopian, and cruel.

The centerpiece of his argument is dubious: "North America cannot accommodate huge additional numbers — it is now quite *fully occupied*, with scarcely any virgin land or untapped resources awaiting settlers." Tanton, however, proffers no algorithm for determining when a nation's absorption capacity has been exhausted. Hong Kong is vastly more densely populated than Great Britain but enjoys a higher per capita income. Japan is an economic powerhouse with a population density exceeding that of countless economic midgets. The population and prosperity of the United States has climbed enormously since World War II. How does Tanton know that additional numbers through immigration would be counterproductive? By epiphany? Since the majority of immigrants are more entrepreneurial and industrious than any indigenous population, they have historically proven fillips, not drags on national economies. Tanton offers no cogent reason to believe that happy phenomenon has abruptly ended.

All the evils Tanton assigns to population growth through immigration are equally raised by natural increases. Yet he declines to recommend a new ethical code of forced sterilization, abortions, or numerical limits on childbirth (as in the People's Republic of China) to escape the putative impending population calamity. That neglect invites suspicion that his appraisal of immigrants is not evenhanded.

Tanton's *cri de coeur* for a new immigration decalogue is first cousin to the utopianism of Rousseau. For instance, Principle III enjoins each nation "to provide for the health, education, employment, and security of its citizens." But that injunction is chimerical. It is routinely flouted by countless nations at any time, for instance, at present, Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Haiti, Burma, Cambodia, the PRC, Iraq, Iran, India, Bangladesh, Nicaragua, etc., yet evokes only a yawning spectator response from the United Nations. The Principle evokes recollection of Hotspur's devastating retort in *King Henry IV, Part I*, to Glendower's boastful claim of calling spirits from the vasty deep: "Why, so can I, or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?"

Hotspur's rejoinder is equally applicable to the pronouncement in Principle VII that illegal immigration should end, while neglecting to suggest any means to that goal.

"John Tanton's urgent call for an immigration new deal ... seems unpersuasive, utopian, and cruel."

Principle V ascribes an economic omniscience to government that history has thoroughly discredited. It directs each nation to "train its own technical and professional personnel, matching supply to demand." But supply and demand curves for any type of labor are ever-changing and unknowable to bureaucrats or others. As Adam Smith stressed in *The Wealth of Nations*, free market guesses adjusted through operation of trial-and-error by market participants invariably yield the most beneficial results for society. As the ramshackle economies of present and former Communist regimes prove, bureaucrats can no more match supply and demand for professional workers than they can for oil, electricity, food, shoes, shelter, or any other commodity or service.

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Principle VI dictates that "[e]ach nation should arrange to do its own drudgery work...." But Tanton offers no clue as to what type of work falls into the latter category. I would find gardening, clerical work, or painting drudgery. Others would similarly hold idiosyncratic views of drudge work. Principle VI thus pivots on an intellectually empty concept.

Even if drudge work could be defined, Tanton offers no reason to confine the labor market to the indigenous population, other than a desire to lose economic efficiencies by artificially inflating wages and working conditions.

He economizes on the truth by likening drudgery to slavery. In any event, a nation is economically handicapped when it channels its indigenous workers into low-skill employment that can be more efficiently performed by immigrants. Tanton needs reminding of Adam Smith's sardonic scorn in *The Wealth of Nations* of those who would intrude on free markets: "The statesman who should attempt to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capitals [or labor] would not only load himself with a most unnecessary attention, but assume an authority which could safely be trusted not only to no single person, but to no council or senate whatever, and which would nowhere be so dangerous as in the hands of a man who had folly and presumption enough to fancy himself fit to exercise it."

Tanton's conclusion betrays a cruel heart. He pontificates that millions of would-be immigrants fleeing from genocide, persecution or hellacious conditions abroad must accept martyrdom and shun asylum: "They will have to work to change conditions they don't like rather than just move away from them."

In other words, the Kurds and Shiites in Iraq, the survivors of the Tienanmen Square massacre in the PRC, Bosnian Moslems confronting ethnic cleansing and worse, the countless victims of sanguinary civil strife in Cambodia, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Liberia, and the women consigned to be virtual sex objects in Saudi Arabia should all stay and fight in their homelands in lieu of working for political change from asylum abroad. That flinty attitude was displayed towards Jews fleeing Nazi Germany and earned a stinging reproach from history. Tanton thus seems to need the lecture of George Santayana: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

[*For more on Mr. Fein's views see* **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**, *Summer 1994, Vol. IV, No. 4, p.297.*]

* * *

We've Just Begun to Migrate!

by David Finkel

[*An editor of the journal* Against the Current, *David Finkel invites any reader of* **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** *who wants to see what the far left thinks to order a free sample copy by writing to him at ATC, 7012 Michigan Avenue, Detroit, MI 48210.*]

Let's get it clear at the outset: The basic issues in the debate posed by Dr. John H. Tanton's essay, "End of the Migration Epoch?" aren't fundamentally matters of population pressure or demographics, but rather of *values* — what kind of society we want for ourselves, our children and grandchildren.

It's a debate also about what are the crucial obstacles to achieving such a society, and how to confront them. While these issues are sometimes veiled in Dr. Tanton's argument, in what follows I will try to be as explicit as possible.

Briefly, the society I want to be part of would have the maximum imaginable multicultural, multi-racial diversity and cohabitation, as well as a high consciousness and commitment to environmental preservation both within and beyond the boundaries of the "nation-state." Obviously, this predisposes me to welcome and advocate immigration. It's also my undisguised belief that a high degree of democratic economic planning is essential.

But wait: Aren't these ideals in conflict? Doesn't the pressure of immigration promote economic chaos, political turmoil and environmental degradation? It's necessary therefore to review this and a couple of other commonplace myths about the immigration menace.

Myth #1: Immigration pressure degrades our environment.

In fact, if we look at Tanton's and my state of Michigan — where immigration is not a large-scale issue — an official government study recently told us what is obvious to the unaided eye: the chief environmental problem in the state is suburban sprawl with the attendant consequences of automobile air pollution and destruction of wetlands and farmland. We may add the results of the Greenpeace study, showing a massive threat to the Great Lakes caused

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by dumping of industrial organochlorines.

Or look at two states which *do* have large-scale immigration: Florida and California. Florida's wetlands are catastrophically drying up — not, however, because of immigration but because of insane overdevelopment. Similarly, the destruction of California's desert results not from Latino or Asian immigration but from construction of suburban yuppievilles, while southern California's notorious water scarcity is caused by the huge subsidy of agribusiness.

Myth #2: Immigration takes away jobs.

Actually, in most circumstances immigration is both an effect and a cause of economic health (in fact one way to eliminate immigration would be to have a really massive economic depression, though I haven't seen this advocated in THE SOCIAL CONTRACT). As Tanton seems to recognize (he'd like to change it) in his Principle VI, immigrants do a lot of the work (e.g. in agricultural and domestic labor) that native workers won't take. They also buy things and pay taxes from what they earn.

Myth #3: Immigration puts pressure on strained social services, notably education.

This one is at least partly true, particularly in states like Texas and California. This, however, points to a much broader issue of state and local governments going bankrupt, quite independent of immigration, due to the massive "offloading" of responsibilities by the Reagan-Bush federal government during the 1980s. Halt immigration tomorrow and the crises of public health, functional illiteracy, violence in the schools and physical infrastructure collapse will still be acute, and still require a fundamental shift in government priorities in order to have any chance of solution.

In short, the fact that our society is undergoing an absolutely fundamental and profound crisis has nothing to do with immigration. The underlying crisis, however, is no doubt the reason why immigration can be painted as a menace by intellectual authors such as Dr. Tanton, and by actual racist *movements* like the Ku Klux Klan.[1]

Immigration could actively help solve some of our problems. I find it tragic that highly educated Russian scientists, who'd like to come to America, are stuck sweeping streets in Israel because political manipulations made it impossible to emigrate anywhere else. (Few of these were motivated by ideological Zionism, and by no means are they all Jewish; some are practicing Orthodox Christians who claimed to be Jewish to get their exit visas!) Imagine the difference thousands of people like this could make, with a year's acclimatization and training, as science and math teachers in our public high schools!

More broadly, from my own perspective, *immigrants in many cases bring with them precisely the values our society has been losing.*

I'm referring here to a certain culture of social and, yes, class solidarity that are desperately needed here. I don't mean to romanticize immigrants or anyone else, individually or collectively, but here are a few recent examples.

As this is written, Chinese immigrant workers in New York — many of whom are smuggled in by unscrupulous agents under the most horrible conditions and then subjected to a form of indentured servitude — have confronted and defeated an anti-union lockout by one of Chinatown's biggest restaurants, the Silver Palace. Salvadoran janitors in Los Angeles two years ago, bringing with them the experiences of union organizing under death-squad conditions in their homeland, spearheaded a "Justice for Janitors" campaign that won union rights in several major hotels. In several midwestern states, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee has built a successful union among largely Latino migrant workers in an industry the traditional official U.S. labor movement could never touch.

"Dr. Tanton's essay ... leaves aside what I suggest is a crucial point: ...the development of the uniquely innovative economic system of capitalism."

People like this, contrary to the mythologies of arrogant nativist professors like Samuel Huntington who think they need to be "assimilated" to our "political democracy," already understand the value of democratic rights better than most — having been deprived of them and having had to fight for them, both in their homelands and here. In many cases they

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also understand the value of community — much better than many affluent white Americans in privately guarded suburban subdivisions — without which the prospects for reviving our society are bleak indeed. It would not be the first time in United States history that immigrants reinvigorated a democratic political culture.[2]

Let's pass briefly to the theoretical content of Dr. Tanton's essay. His synopsis of the breathtaking technological transformations, especially since 1600, that have constructed our present society is instructive. He leaves aside what I suggest is a crucial point: The technological-scientific transformations of industry, transportation, medicine, communications, agriculture etc. are not autonomous but are closely bound up with, and incalculably accelerated by, the development of the uniquely innovative economic system of *capitalism*.

Once this connection is made, we confront a set of multiple contradictions that simply cannot be reduced, much as Dr. Tanton might wish, to a simplistic "migration epoch," which is but one of an entire complex of effects of the present world system.

Capitalism has, at one and the same time, created the possibility — and for at least a significant fortunate minority of us, including Tanton, myself and the readers of this journal — the reality of unprecedented human freedom and comfort, along with the most ghastly forms of human exploitation, mass murder and ecological destruction. Examples of the latter run from the African slave trade and extermination of whole peoples in the New World, to the factory conditions of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and today's maquiladoras, to the Nazi holocaust.

There is no point wringing our hands over any of this; rather we must grasp the reality we face and move forward (in my opinion, to a democratic socialist society, but we can debate the details of that another time). Mass migration of the recent past and present is an inescapable part of the dual reality of world capitalism: the technological means of travel, and the necessity imposed on peoples fleeing from shattered societies. Like it or not, this process *cannot* be stopped by barbed wire and legal codes, which is why I'm not spending much time here on Dr. Tanton's "New Decalogue" of immigration-control principles.

Instead I'd like to focus on a concluding point that flows from the theoretical analysis. Dr. Tanton is obviously correct — even if migration were perfectly unregulated — that "the proper focus is on the 99.9 percent of people who remain at home." Inasmuch as the bulk of immigration (especially that with which Dr. Tanton and **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** seem most concerned)[3] comes from the capitalist periphery or "Third World," it becomes urgently necessary to say what conditions will make it possible for that 99.9 percent to develop and survive.

The *first and essential* condition is, in fact, crystal clear. Dozens of countries, from Mexico on our border to sub-Saharan Africa, are crippled by foreign debts (in almost every case incurred by highly anti-democratic, militaristic and usually Western-backed regimes) which can never be repaid. The very possibility of economic development in the interests of their populations is blocked by interest payments and by International Monetary Fund "structural adjustment programs," which promote prosperity for the already rich and austerity bordering on starvation for the poor. *To allow the 99.9 percent to remain at home, the foreign debts must be canceled and the IMF abolished.*

Finally, there are specific issues of immigration that reduce to the most basic morality. If the United States in the past decade has been "flooded" with refugee immigrants from the countries of Mexico, Central America and Haiti, they have every right to be here — because their lives have been destroyed by the actions of successive governments of this country.

El Salvador and Guatemala in the 1980s were ruled by military death-squad regimes, governing with the connivance of several U.S. administrations, which systematically exterminated tens of thousands of civilians and forced hundreds of thousands to flee for their lives.

In the Mexican case, the new North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) greatly accelerates the destruction of the protections that Mexico traditionally accorded to its agriculture and public industries.[4] Increasing migration pressure is the utterly predictable result.

Yet all recent atrocities seem almost trivial in comparison with the Bush-Clinton blockade of refugees from Haiti, under which thousands have literally been physically handed over to the executioners running that country today. Few

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Americans, apart from those who follow specialized bulletins and information networks on Haiti, realize the degree to which the Bush administration attempted to prevent the democratic election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, sought to subvert him afterward and almost certainly had a hand in the coup that overthrew him.

One of Aristide's worst crimes, in the eyes of the United States Agency for International Development, was attempting to raise the minimum wage from 33 to 50 cents, an intolerable affront to U.S. corporate investors there. (Many Haitian workers make much less — including those who make baseballs for export to the U.S., receiving about 14 cents an hour.)

For this reason alone, every Haitian who wishes to come here should be automatically admitted. (I can assure Dr. Tanton that 99.9 percent of them, and of those Haitians living here now, wish to return to rebuild their country when it becomes possible to do so.) To compensate for any excess population pressure created thereby, and to improve the general social climate, I for one would not object if Bill Clinton, along with ex-Presidents Bush and Reagan, their retinues, Oliver North and several thousand CIA operatives were shipped off to Haiti to live under the kind of conditions that they themselves have done so much to create.

NOTES

[1] That intellectuals can be just as racist as the Klan is well exemplified in Samuel Huntington's "America Undone" in the same issue of THE SOCIAL CONTRACT (Spring 1994). Space won't permit any critical dissection here of his "twin bedrocks of European culture and political democracy." I'll simply mention one of the titular pillars of both in this century: the saintly Winston Churchill who, early in his political career, shortly after World War I, approved the aerial poison-gas bombing of civilian populations in Afghanistan, a technical innovation for which Saddam Hussein has lately been given unjust credit.

[2] To be sure there are also conflicts within, and among, immigrant groups as well as between immigrant and native working class populations. Working these through is centrally what democracy should be about. The scene in Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing* where Italians, blacks, Koreans and whites spew hate epithets at each other is disturbing, but it also illustrates the importance of people being able to yell and scream at, without killing, each other. That's the real difference between Brooklyn and Bosnia (where the *actual* differences among the Serb, Croat and Muslim Slavic populations are much smaller!).

[3] Reading through several issues of this journal I have not seen serious concern expressed over the very significant illegal immigration from Israel and the Irish Republic, both countries which I suppose are considered "white," or European, or whatever.

[4] The destruction of peasant's rights to their historic collective plots is partly what the Zapatista uprising is about. This is closely related to U.S.-Mexico "free trade" under which U.S. agricultural products will flood Mexico. One Mexican economist has told me that between four and five million displaced peasant families — upwards of 20 million people all told — may be streaming northward by the end of the decade (personal communication with Manuel Aguilar Mora).

* * *

Australia's New Age of Migration

by John Nieuwenhuysen

[*Dr. Nieuwenhuysen is Director of the Australian Federal Government's Bureau of Immigration and Population Research. Some of the material in this article also appeared in Melbourne's* Sunday Age.]

"We are fast approaching the end of the Migration Epoch," says John Tanton in his concluding section headed *End of the Migration Epoch?* Dr. Tanton should recall, however, the traditional salute on a king's death: "The king is dead! Long live the king!"

True, large scale mass permanent migration and settlement has waned as a potential solution to poverty, overpopulation, and dismemberment following wars. Nonetheless, several traditional immigrant-receiving countries, such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia, seem likely to continue with planned intakes. (Though in Australia, the current level of this intake is at its lowest ebb for many decades, the program, serving humanitarian — refugee, family reunion, and skilled labor objectives, continues basically to be a politically bipartisan program that will persist in years to come, perhaps at levels higher than the present.)

But more important than this continued planned permanent migration is the growth of **other** types of migration. It is a fundamental omission that Dr. Tanton's article *End of the Migration Epoch?* does not foresee or recognize the replacing significance of these other forms of movement. The point may be illustrated by reference to Australia, but for these purposes Australia is not unique, and the same forces

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are at work elsewhere.

Two forms of migration now overshadow Australia's traditional permanent flow of settlers, both through the scale of numbers concerned, and the potential impact on the economy and society.

The first is temporary migration. In 1993, compared with the net 33,500 people who migrated permanently to Australia, there were about 94,000 temporary residents here; 75,000 overseas students; and nearly 2.7 million short-term international visitor arrivals.

These numbers are expected to grow considerably — for example, it is forecast that short-term visitors (mainly tourists) will increase to 7 million a year by 2000. In tertiary education institutions which are becoming more entrepreneurial and successful in attracting overseas students, the implications of continued or expanded international involvement are also formidable. I doubt that many can fully envisage today the enormous consequences of this growth on the future shape of Australia's society, economy, and structure.

The first category — the 94,000 temporary residents — is of special relevance to labor market issues. It includes managers, executives, specialists, technical workers, and (the main group) working holiday makers.

As freer trade grows, and inter-country investment expands, so demands for temporary resident movement will rise.

This expansion countervails the decline in permanent migration. It aids labor market flexibility and provides a means for coping with temporary skill demands. It also carries tensions, however. The availability of temporary skill supplies is sometimes said to undermine incentives for local training, and threaten conditions of work.

But there is no doubt that greater population movement to and from Australia will accompany regional economic integration. Aspirations other than permanent settlement will emerge.

Australians are already succeeding in gaining short- (and long-) term employment footholds in neighboring countries. And Australia's entry arrangements are likewise being adapted to cater for professional and technical transients, investors, and students.

Cutting across national boundaries, there is a growing pool and network of interchangeable skilled people, making the international labor market increasingly mobile.

The second type of movement which dwarfs the scale of net permanent arrivals is internal migration. Between 1986-91, 33.5 percent of the population changed their place of residence. In 1993, Victoria suffered a net interstate migration loss of 31,500 people, and New South Wales 16,100. Queensland gained a net 53,000 people.

There are also widely different population growth rates between the States. In the years 1987-93, Victoria's population growth rate declined from 1.18 to 0.2 percent, and that of New South Wales fell from 1.54 to 0.84 percent. At the same time, Queensland's population growth rate rose from 1.92 percent in 1987 to 2.71 percent in 1993. This was almost three times the national average.

"Cutting across national boundaries, there is a growing pool and network of interchangeable skilled people, making the international labor market increasingly mobile."

This population movement within Australia carries profound implications for service provision and planning in both the private and public sectors. It is also visibly changing the face of urban settlement, as the ribbon of development stretching down the Queensland south coast testifies. The environmental, budgetary, economic, and social results of population growth and decline for regions are also of great significance.

In the light of this vigorous, expanded movement of people, Dr. Tanton's claim cannot be sustained that the end of the "migration epoch" is nigh. Indeed, there is a New Age of Migration — that of temporary and internal movement (coupled with reduced but continuing permanent settlement programs to some countries).

It would be foolish to neglect this New Age or to fail to monitor its path. It is likely to be just as or even more influential in the long run than the 'Bold Experiment' of post-war immigration to Australia and other countries like it.

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Migration — The Challenge of the 21st Century

by Sudha Ratan

[*Sudha Ratan, is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, Georgia. He is currently working on several projects dealing with issues of international migration and ethnic conflict.*]

In "End of the Migration Epoch?," John H. Tanton argues that given the lack of virgin land and untapped resources in North America and the growing animosity towards migrants in the developed countries, international migration in the late 20th and into the 21st century is "no longer a practical option for almost all of the world's people."[1] In this response I will briefly outline why migration is still very much a "practical option" for the world's people regardless of how unwelcome they are. Also, I will identify the forces that are at work in keeping the exodus steady.

The obvious starting point is an examination of patterns of migration flow to determine why and how people are moving *en masse* from one region to another. Tanton (quoting Kingsley Davis) notes that the flow today runs from the developing to the developed world.[2] In fact, as a recent U.N. Population Fund report points out, nearly 63% of the world's total migrant population of 125 million represents migration between developing countries. The report identifies 35 million migrants in sub-Saharan Africa and a further 15 million in Asia and the Middle East as compared with about 13 million in Western Europe and North America.[3] Of these, 19 million are classified as refugees with Iran, the former Yugoslavia, Pakistan, Malawi, Jordan and other developing countries playing host to over 78.9% of these refugees.[4] Estimates are that population growth is going to lead to increased international migration of about 98 million people per year, mostly in the developing world. The effect of these statistics on the already poor and burdened states in Asia, Africa and Latin America is enormous and is going to increase if the projections made by international organizations are even partially accurate.

Ironically, the greatest hand-wringing about the negative effects of immigration is taking place today in the industrialized West where concern is focused on the inability of these countries to increase population given current consumption levels of about 75% of the world's resources. The recurring theme advanced by these countries is that they cannot be asked to bear the burden of unchecked population growth in the developing world at the expense of their own taxpayers, economies and environments. However, population growth in the developing world is **not** the most important factor per se contributing to outward migration. Given the subsistence living standards of most of the inhabitants of the developing world, large numbers of people have been and continue to be accommodated in these countries despite a limited resource base. Migration takes place when political and economic upheaval makes it impractical and dangerous for peoples and communities to continue to live in their traditional homelands.

Among the political causes of migration are the prolonged wars and civil strife fueled in the 1970s and 1980s by U.S.-Soviet animosity. More recently the trend towards democratization has fueled a spate of ethnic hostilities in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. Depending on the politics of the situation these migrants are variously classified as refugees (Afghanistan), asylum-seekers (Ethiopia, Nicaragua), or illegal immigrants (Guatemala).[5]

Economically, war and civil strife have placed tremendous burdens on state governments in the developing world. In the 1990s the industrialized countries were transferring $20 billion worth of military supplies to less developed countries, many of which are coping with the legacy of the Cold War — money that could be better spent on the people of these countries. The forces of industrial capitalism have also created massive dislocations in the developing world leading to an annual migration rate of about 30 million people from rural to urban areas within these countries. As "needs-based" agriculture is displaced by export-driven and profit-oriented strategies in these countries, more and more people are being forced into the mega-cities of the developing world in search of work. This migration is further fueled by the ongoing environmental degradation in many of these countries brought on by ill-conceived economic policies aimed at rapid industrialization and export-led growth. Urbanization further exacerbates the environmental problems because city dwellers consume more — more goods and more energy. While 45% of the world's population or 2.4 billion people live in cities today, the estimates are that about 65% or 5.5 billion people

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will live in urban areas by 2025. The ability of state governments to limit extractive and exploitative economic policies is severely hampered by an international economic system which has trapped these states in a cycle of debt-in-the-name-of-development. As these states struggle to cope with larger numbers of people entering the labor markets and runaway urbanization, the industrialized world will face increasing pressure from migrants who would prefer to take their chances in a more livable environment.

Today, the developed countries take in a small percentage of the world's migrants — less than 12% of the total number. Most of these migrants are from neighboring countries — Mexico and the Central American states in the case of the United States, Romania and Bulgaria for Germany. Political and economic conditions in these countries act as **push** factors that make migration an eminently practical option for large numbers of people. For example, democratization in Eastern Europe and elsewhere may in fact increase the pressure of migration because, in the absence of economic improvement, people now have the option to leave and try their luck elsewhere. The presence of family members and friends in the developed countries also serves to encourage new migration and helps to soften the blow of anti-migrant sentiment or resentment in the host country. The home state has little incentive or power to stem the tide given the logic of the international economy. An outflow of migrants helps to generate much needed foreign-exchange revenues (as in the case of Pakistan, India and China among others) while easing public frustration with limited resources and low wages.

At the same time, there are **pull** factors which bring about migration. The globalization of trade and markets has encouraged migration among different groups of people to the developed countries. The restructuring of developed country economics has expanded the supply of low wage jobs (primarily in service sectors like the hotel industry) especially in major cities — jobs that indigenous workers do not want and are not likely to want in the future, given the low rate of population growth and the aging of the population. These jobs tend to be filled by recent migrants with minimal language and technical skills. However, globalization has also allowed transnational corporations to recruit and relocate scientists, engineers and other highly skilled professionals to the developed world where their skills can be put to use at less cost given that the initial training costs were paid for by the home state. As one Indian education consultant pointed out recently, "Considering that it costs taxpayers (in India) $4500 to educate one engineer from the Indian Institute of Technology and twice that amount for a medical student, India has repaid through export of human capital more than the total aid it received from abroad."[6] The host state has little economic incentive or power to discourage this kind of migration.

Given the factors at work in international migration, attempts to limit it by fiat are hardly likely to work. In the UK, Germany and the U.S. laws have been passed to gradually limited immigration. However, enforcement has been difficult in the best of cases and impossible at worst. In Nogales, Arizona, which borders the Mexican city of Nogales, Sonora, attempts to limit migrants by erecting a cyclone fence have not worked and the Border Patrol is talking about constructing a four-mile steel fence, though there is consensus that this is not likely to work if economic conditions in Mexico do not improve. As long as conditions on this side of the fence appear to be more conducive for living, working, and raising children in a politically stable and economically viable fashion, there is going to be a powerful incentive to migrate for those who are presented the opportunity to take advantage of the advances in communications and transportation identified by Tanton in his article.

NOTES

1 John H. Tanton, "End of the Migration Epoch?" *The Social Contract*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Spring 1994), p. 175.

2 Ibid., p. 168.

3 Sue Baker, "'Human Crisis' If Migration Unchecked, U.N. Says," Reuters, London, July 6, 1993.

4 The State of the World's Refugees, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Penguin Books, 1993.

5 Doris M. Meissner, Robert D. Hormats, Antonio Garrigues Walker, Shijuro Ogata, *International Migration Challenges in a New Era: A Report to the Trilateral Commission*, New York: The Trilateral Commission, 1993, p. 6.

6 "An Unwelcome Export Success," *Nature*, 366, December 16, 1993, p. 618.

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John Tanton replies to the critiques of his essay, "End of the Migration Epoch?"

A New *Völkerwanderung?*

By John Tanton

In the Europe of roughly 400-600 A.D., there were massive Germanic movements and invasions of the Roman lands south of the Danube and the Rhine, often referred to as the *Völkerwanderung* (wandering of the people). As historians can best reconstruct the events, these were occasioned by population and climatic "push" pressures to the north, and by the "pull" of weakness of the Romans to the south. This latter vacuum can be traced to political disorders and to epidemics, both of which killed off many Romans. These movements were both the partial cause of, and the result of the demise of the Roman Empire, as famously chronicled by Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The *Völkerwanderung* is still the subject of active historical research.[1]

Are we, at the end of the second millennium, about to see a new *Völkerwanderung*, this time on a massive and global scale? If so, might there be causes and effects which parallel the Roman example?[2]

In my paper, "The End of the Migration Epoch?," I tried to portray the demographic and other forces that will influence human migration over the next few decades. This paper was submitted to a number of people likely to be critical of it, and I am glad for the opportunity to attempt replies to six of them. As one other commentator on this collection of essays remarked, "They see us at the beginning of an era of migration; you see us at the end." Precisely — and time will show which view was more prescient.

These six critiques, though from individuals of widely varying opinions and backgrounds, rely on the following main themes:

I. **Population growth is not the problem.**

No attempt was made on my part to argue the underlying population problem in my paper, as it has been debated to exhaustion in many forums, including the September 1994 UN Population Conference in Cairo. Rather, my intent was to show that human numbers had grown, and why. Minds are pretty well made up on the significance of this expansion, and are not likely to be changed at this late date.

Among the respondents, the capitalist Fein and the socialist Finkel both see problems with contemporary political and social organization, though from diametrically opposed views. One espouses Adam Smith, the other Marx. My own views, as a biologist, are closest to those of McNeill, who sees the possibility of massive epidemics and believes that nature will limit population growth if man does not. The possibility that the death rate might go up was not even considered at Cairo. Those who wish to explore this idea could well start with McNeill's *Plagues and Peoples*.[3]

The polarization of the immigration debate brings to mind C. P. Snow's classic book, *The Two Cultures*.[4] Snow outlined the breakdown of the academic and intellectual world into sociologists, economists, and politicians on one side, and the physical scientists on the other: physicists, chemists, biologists, etc. These two groups seem to live in different worlds and communicate poorly with one another. I side with physical and biological laws governing our globe, which will ultimately trump mankind's more recent social and economic innovations. An impressive list of Nobel Laureates and other renowned scientists seems to agree.[5]

Several commentators felt I placed too much emphasis on the role of medicine in reducing death rates and engendering population growth. I tried to avoid this error, to which my background as a physician doubtless subjects me. Evidently I did not succeed, and willingly concede that public health measures, the increased material productivity of the industrial revolution, better transportation of food to forestall famines, and many other factors helped cut the death rate. Exactly why the birthrate declined, and what measures might help reduce it today are still topics of intense debate.[6] The dynamics of the death and birth rates are not central to my argument. Regardless of how we arrived at today's circumstances, they are clear: human numbers have grown massively in this century, and — absent the plagues and civil disorders that some envision — will expand

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even more remarkably over the next few decades.

II. **Nothing can be done.**

A number of the critics feel that the pressures for migration — demographic, political, social, and economic — are so intense that they simply cannot be countered. Others, like Finkel and Ratan, argue they *should not* be. They hold the United States responsible for many of the world's difficulties, and feel mass migration represents just retribution. Strider worries that humane methods of control won't be found. Fein thinks immigrants could be our salvation, and Nieuwenhuysen that temporary migration will increase dramatically.

"Those who hope for a dissolution of national borders should draw us a picture of how such a world might look."

Those who hope for a dissolution of national borders should draw us a picture of how such a world might look. My view closely parallels that of Robert Kaplan[7] who sees a breakdown of civil society. Ratan envisions the migration of 98 million people (!) a year, mostly between the less-developed countries. I think that the current residents of recipient areas will see this as invasion. They will not sit idly by, but will resist vigorously, though perhaps too late. While they may be willing to succor some persons temporarily, it's highly unlikely they will accept them for *permanent* residence, especially if they are of a different race, religion, language, or culture ... and higher fertility. People are not stupid; they can read the handwriting on the wall. Do the Zairians intend that the Rwandans and their offspring (average number of children per woman: six or more) will stay and increase forever? I doubt it.

Migration doubtless cannot be controlled absolutely, any more than can, for example, the counterfeiting of money. Both must be kept down to levels with which society can live, *or* we will have to live with the consequences. Neither the wide-spread use of bogus money, nor massive, unending migration are compatible with civil society, in my view.

There are three classes of measures that can control migration: First, those within the receiving country, such as sanctions on the employment of illegal aliens, or deportation of persons overstaying legal entry visas. Second, measures at the borders and ports to prevent illegal entry in the first place. Third — everybody's favorite — measures in the countries of origin to help reduce the migration pressures. Doubtless some action in all three categories will be needed. Those who would like some greater detail on these proposals may wish to read Chapter 11 of *The Immigration Invasion*.[8]

III. **Economics**

Fein reads into my fifth principle (that each nation should train its own technical and professional personnel) that I call for government management of the economy. Just the opposite: I'm arguing for giving the domestic market a chance to work. If a corporation needs more computer programmers, let it train some of our own citizens rather than just passing them by in favor of foreigners. Fein apparently wants both our high-skilled and low-skilled jobs done more "efficiently" (i.e., cheaply) by immigrants (but doubtless not including *his* job).

What are we to do with our own citizens thus passed over? Fein would certainly not want to see them supported by some government safety net. In the course of this cut-throat global competition, wages and conditions will be driven down to world levels, which are very low indeed. In Bangladesh, one can hire a pair of hands for less than ten cents per hour.[9]

Fein also objects that I did not define drudgery work, but then lists gardening, clerical work, and painting as his ideas of this category. To these must be added all of the other things it takes to keep him going: growing food, manufacturing clothing and shelter, producing his energy and disposing of his waste, transporting him on the Washington, D.C. metro, cooking his food, waiting the tables and busing and washing the dishes for those "power lunches" in our nation's capital, and so on. Fein's coddled circumstances bring to mind a childhood Sunday school lesson: "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these."[10]

All of these services require on-site labor — they can't be done by foreign workers unless they move here. And while the immigrants themselves might appreciate these bottom-of-the-line jobs, their children

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will not, having been corrupted of their virtue by moving to our country. Thus we set the stage for future civil rights battles, while at the same time increasing the competition at the bottom of the economic ladder — doubtless to the benefit of Fein and his collaborators at the top.

Finkel classifies as a myth the assertion that immigration takes away jobs. This point has been endlessly analyzed by both sides without the other conceding. I doubt that either side will ever carry the day. To this non-economist it seems that adding workers will affect the wages and conditions more than it will the demand for labor. At least the socialists at the turn of the century thought so, when they backed controls on immigration for this reason.[11] Employers wanted to bring in more immigrants to help break the power of the unions.

Finkel, as a socialist and Marxist, would like to argue the virtues of socialism versus capitalism, but that goes beyond what we can cover here. I was taken aback, though, when he wrote of human exploitation, mass murder, and ecological destruction. I thought he was describing not capitalism but the failed socialist experiments of Eastern Europe and the Union of Soviet *Socialist* Republics, and Stalin's purges and slave labor camps.[12] (Perhaps I should include Nazi Germany in the indictment — after all, they called themselves "National *Socialists*.")

IV. **Immigrants will save us.**

Fein and Finkel argue this point, as have many others: immigrants are hard-working and entrepreneurial, they bring family values, and are willing to do jobs that Americans won't do, and for low pay and benefits, and so on.

The strange thing is that all of us are also of immigrant stock. What happened to those values when our forebears came to the United States? Is there some miasma here that erodes them after the first generation? If so, will the children of today's immigrants also "go to pot" (figuratively if not literally)? Perhaps their parents should take this into account in deciding whether or not to expose them to our degenerate society.

If there are problems with our social milieu and mores, they need to be attacked directly. These were the concerns I tried to address in my principles III, IV, V, and VI: the need for each nation to provide for its own citizens, and to look first to its own nationals for provision of its essential goods and services, rather than simply hoping that solutions can be imported.

V. **There are other causes of migration.**

Certainly there are other direct causes of migration pressure beyond growing populations, improvements in transportation and instant communications. Ratan cites political and economic upheaval — much of which I see as engendered by rapid population growth. For instance, a rapidly growing population has a larger number of those notorious trouble makers — young males — which is one of the causes of political instability. My main theme: the time has passed when any significant proportion of the world's population can simply pick up and move away from its troubles. A few may still be able to escape, but the many will either have to deal with the problems at home, hard as that may be, or live with them.

"Legal immigration is one of the chief causes of illegal immigration."

Professor McNeill mentions that "successful transplants tend to bring others after time." This is facilitated by a system of "networks," described by Professor Philip Martin of the University of California at Davis.[13] This unseen (because it flows away from, not toward, us) and poorly measured phenomenon consists of remittances, goods, letters, and information sent back home by migrants. These network flows are an important cause of migration — of the decision either to go or not to go. Incidentally, what constitutes *legal* and *illegal* immigration is a distinction of law in the receiving countries, one of not much consequence to the prospective migrants themselves. Persons coming *illegally* would have a hard time believing that illegal status is significant to the United States as they are met at the border by immigrant-service groups; are fed, clothed, sheltered, allowed access to jobs by our government; are provided with health care and political rights; and, in the end, are given amnesty for having broken the law.

The counter flow of goods and information through immigrant networks is the chief reason why illegal immigration is unlikely to decline without our first reducing *legal* immigration, and thus the volume

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of messages sent back home. *Legal* immigration is one of the chief causes of illegal immigration.

VI. **Racism, xenophobia, and nativism.**

All six responses were refreshingly free of the *argumentum ad hominem*, though Finkel in his third footnote wonders why no concern is expressed over "white illegal immigration from Israel and the Irish Republic." We have opposed both of these flows, and the lottery for (chiefly Irish) visas set up in the 1990 Act, at other times and places. Finkel also states in his second footnote that the actual differences among Italians, blacks, Koreans, and whites in Brooklyn are greater than the differences between Serbians, Croats, and Muslims in Bosnia. He must mean the *physical* differences as viewed by *an* outsider — clearly, the Bosnian people themselves consider the differences in language, culture, religion, and history of sufficient import to kill one another over them. The differences are *greater* than in Brooklyn.

There have thus far been three stages in the immigration debate:

1. The Statue of Liberty Phase. During this initial phase, whenever the immigration topic came up, recitation of Emma Lazarus's poem was considered a sufficient answer any problem.
2. The Caveat Phase. In this secondary stage, thoughtful people began to have some doubts and questions, but still felt the need to excuse their concerns by interjecting such phrases as, "Now I'm not a racist, nativist or a xenophobe, but...." They would then state their proposition for discussion.
3. Free Speech Phase. In this last and mature stage of the immigration debate people will be able to discuss the issues as legitimate ones of public policy, without first excusing themselves, or having their motives, morals or character challenged.

We can hope that the absence of such attacks in these six replies signals the opening of this mature phase of the immigration debate.

VII. **The nation-state may not hold.**

This was the most startling assertion of the lot. It was made by Professor McNeill, who has written extensively on the origins of the nation-state.[14] McNeill's viewpoint has the weight and maturity that comes from a lifetime of study and writing on world history.[15]

Certainly many regimes have come and gone. Transition from one to another has often been violent — consider the French Revolution. What might a world look like that had little respect for national boundaries?[16] How would we function without the ability to assign rights and responsibilities to political units? Without a nation-state to look after their interests, will people transfer their loyalty up to some form of world government or down toward their own racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic, tribal, or other group? This latter seems the more likely as we look around the world today. That type of "brave new world" has the look of Kaplan's world of anarchy.[17]

"If the nation-state fails there are tumultuous times ahead."

In my original paper, both the proposed paradigm shifts and the "New Decalogue for an Increasingly Crowded World" rely heavily on the nation-state as the chief means for ordering human affairs. In Paradigm IV., I cited the famous phrase from *Mending Wall* by Robert Frost: "Something there is that doesn't love a wall." But Frost was actually in favor of national borders and distinctions. Another time he wrote, "I'm a terrible nationalist myself ... and I can't see how one can be international unless there are some nations to be 'inter' with, and the clearer and distincter the better."[18]

If the nation-state fails, there are tumultuous times ahead.

VIII. **Other arguments.**

While I cannot in the space available answer every issue raised, I hope the above collection of arguments from right and left, from men and women, from academics and activists will give the reader a good feeling for the range of debate. Here are some observations on a few other points raised by the critics.

Dr. Strider is justifiably concerned that the measures needed to control illegal immigration might be "Draconian and inhumane." I believe it is possible to reduce illegal immigration to tolerable levels with a combination of measures within our country, at our borders and ports, and in the countries of origin, and to cut down on the network flows from back home by reducing *legal* immigration. But we are in a tight situation, and it's tightening daily. It is rather like failing to seek treatment for lung cancer in the early

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stages. The longer it's let go, the more drastic, expensive and uncomfortable the treatment will be, with a corresponding decrease in the chances for success. Had we acted in the 1960s or 1970s, iimmigration reform would have been much simpler. And if we wait until 2000, even more stringent measures will be required.

Dr. Strider is also concerned that any limitations be fair. What is fair in immigration policy is hard to say. Fair to whom? At least these parties are at interest: 1) the migrants themselves, 2) those they leave behind, 3) the people in the recipient country — especially the lower economic classes that feel the competition most acutely, and 4) future generations.

On point four, what would it be like for our progeny to live in a country of 400 million people by 2050, as opposed to 250 million in 1990? For example, if we were to keep our total resource consumption at today's levels, how much would resource consumption per capita fall? Taking 100 units per person as the baseline for 1990, we have:

$$\underline{\text{in 2050}} \qquad \underline{\text{in 1990}}$$

$$400 \times (?)\text{units} = 250 \times 100 \text{ units}$$

$$? \text{ units} = \frac{250 \times 100 \text{ units}}{400} = 62.5\%$$

Thus: resources available per capita would fall by 37.5%. Alternatively, if per capita consumption stays the same, overall consumption will grow to:

400 ÷ 250 = 1.6 times what it is at present. Where will these extra resources come from? Keep in mind as a single example that we already import 58% of our petroleum.

"While honoring the past, we must devise other approaches to our problems."

Rather like a person who finally admits he has reached middle age and must give up some youthful activities, so mankind has also matured in its relationship with our planet. International migration worked tolerably well in the past and was a solution to human problems, but it is no longer workable for the vast majority of mankind. While honoring the past, we must devise new approaches to our new problems. Simply playing the same old game will not work much longer.

Perhaps I'm a decade or two early in my predictions, but then how much difference does it make to us today whether the Black Plague arrived in Europe in 1346 or 1356 or 1366? Looking back from, say, the year 2500, will historians much care if the migration epoch closed in 1990, 2000, or 2010?

Dr. Strider also challenges my concept that the world is "fully occupied," and suggests that more people could fit into some of the globe's more sparsely populated areas. This is a common viewpoint heard from persons who fly coast to coast, look down from 35,000 feet and see "empty space." Many of the sparsely populated areas of the globe are that way for very good reasons. This is where our food and fiber are grown — they can't be developed and still fulfill this function. Others are too cold, dry, or short of useful resources to support much human population. Also, if one asks those living in Montana or Colorado, who often like low density living, you will find they do not often want more neighbors. Their point of view is: let the newcomers pile into Manhattan, Los Angeles or Boston.

In this same vein, Fein approvingly cites Hong Kong and Japan as examples we might emulate. For many who share my values (Finkel rightly sees that values are at the bottom of this exchange), jampacked Hong Kong and Japan are the "future" to be *avoided.* Both rely on the centrally directed economies and tight social controls that Fein and many others find repugnant. Both also require vast, sparsely populated outbacks dedicated to producing needed food, fiber, raw materials, and energy, and to absorbing their waste.

Fein rightly notes that I have not urged the United States to enact such drastic measures as forced sterilization and abortions, or numerical limits on childbirth. Fortunately such actions are not needed, for the people of the United States on their own in the 1970s and 1980s reduced their total fertility to less than replacement. Had immigration also been at replacement levels (i.e., immigration equal to emigration), we would now be well on our way toward stabilizing our population.

In his final sally, Fein sees me condemning millions to genocide, persecution, or hellacious conditions abroad. That's the problem: there are millions; tens and even hundreds of millions. I still envision *temporary* admission of a relatively small

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number of bona fide refugees, not people like the ones Finkel cites who are actually practicing Orthodox Christians, but who claimed Jewish ancestry to get exit visas from the former U.S.S.R.

Will people be injured or even die fighting to improve things at home? No doubt. Fein cites Jews and Nazi Germany. We asked hundreds of thousands of Americans to lay down their lives and many more to sustain injuries, in part to topple the Nazi regime. Does Fein think this was a mistake? Francis Fukuyama notwithstanding, we have not reached *The End of History and the Last Man.*[19] Jefferson put it this way: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."[20]

We have not yet reached the point where progress comes without sacrifice. Life is hard.

Finkel cites the Salvadoran janitors in Los Angeles organizing to win union rights. He's probably unaware of a study by the General Accounting Office on how immigrants displaced blacks from janitorial jobs in Los Angeles and how wages fell from $12.00/hr. to $4.00/hr. in the process.[21]

"I believe Ratan is right in saying that attempts to limit migration by fiat alone are not likely to work..."

Showing that politics can make strange bedfellows, I agree with Finkel on the likely effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on migration pressures to the United States. We opposed it in two issues of *The Social Contract.*[22] As to his view that the United States is responsible for the conditions in such places as El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, and Mexico, I simply don't accept this patronizing Marxist view of recent history. The world has always been a rough and tumble place. People must organize along national (and other) lines to look out for their best interests. If they don't, a U.S.A. — or a U.S.S.R. — may interfere. For the record: I oppose both the embargo on Haiti and Cuba, and our invasion of either (and their on-going invasions of us).

Dr. Nieuwenhuysen writes of two other forms of migration. The first is temporary which, if the U.S. experience is applicable to Australia, will in many cases ultimately prove to be permanent. Second, he writes about *intra*-national migration, which is a different problem than the international migration that is the focus of my article. While this phenomenon merits its own discussion, this is not the place.

Ratan's view of our migration future is that it is essentially needs-driven. Tens of millions of people around the world live in dire circumstances, and their situations are steadily worsening from political, economic, and intra-national migration pressures, such as the rural-to-urban ones seen in many less-developed countries. Where we differ is in Ratan's apparent view that the residents of other countries, both more- and less-developed, will simply and quietly move over to receive these newcomers — as many as 98 million a year, she writes. This seems unlikely, especially when one looks at the ruckus raised in countries such as Germany and France by the migration of fewer than a million a year, or at the turmoil in such places as Assam state in northeast India over incursions from Bangladesh. I believe Ratan is right in saying that attempts to limit migration by fiat alone are not likely to work: as pointed out under heading No. V above, legalisms are not a prime consideration for intending migrants. The actual problems must be addressed — and legal migration must be reduced to stem the network flows that stimulate further migration, whether legal or illegal.

We must say to those who are dissatisfied with conditions at home, "Stand and fight; don't cut and run. Follow the examples of Nelson Mandella and Lech Walensa." If we don't take this position in the 1990s, then surely we will need to in the 2000s or 2010s when there will be another 1 or 2 billion more souls on our planet looking for a place in the sun.

Reprise

After thousands of years, mankind has finally fulfilled the Biblical injunction to multiply and subdue the earth.[23] Every nook and cranny of the earth's surface is now explored, mapped, and occupied, albeit to varying densities. Each part of the globe — even Antarctica — is now claimed by some nation and/or owned by some entity or individual. To enter any area peaceably one needs to ask permission. Increasingly, the answer to such requests will be:

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No, we already have all the people we can handle.

No, we could take more people, but we prefer a less-crowded mode of living.

No, we are looking to the future, and wish to conserve our space and resources for our own children.

No, we have a homogeneous population and wish to stay that way. Our strength is in our uniformity. (This is the Japanese view-point.)

No, we have already taken in many strangers and are sufficiently heterogeneous. Now we need a breather to fully incorporate past migrants into our society and economy.

No, if you don't like conditions where you are, fix them, don't just run away. We'll be glad to help with this if you wish — and if we actually can.

In dealing with migration, we must recognize the key role of momentum, as in all demographic matters. It is very difficult to stop the growth of a rapidly expanding population, for even if fertility rates drop to replacement levels, it requires roughly 50 years and will result in a further 50 percent population increase before the expansion of human numbers stops. This is due to the large percentage of young people in a growing population. Even if they limit themselves to two children per couple, they will produce far more new individuals than there are old folks who will be dying. The result: further population growth.

The same is true of migration. Strongly established streams are very difficult to interrupt, thanks to the networking factor. Like stopping a car — and unlike turning off a faucet — one must anticipate the future and act well in advance of an accident.

With regard to immigration, times and circumstances have changed. Emma Lazarus' 1886 poem and all those heart-warming immigrant success stories we learned back in grade school are irrelevant in today's demographic, political and social climates. Instead, we should say with Abraham Lincoln:

> *... As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.*
>
> "Second Annual Message to Congress," December 1, 1862.[24]

Or perhaps with James Russell Lowell:

> *New occasions teach new duties;*
> *Time makes ancient good uncouth;*
> *They must upward still, and onward,*
> *Who would keep abreast of Truth.*
>
> *The Present Crisis*, 1844.[25]

If we're able to disenthrall ourselves, to acknowledge the new reality that the 1990s are different from 1890s, then we will be able to do some fresh thinking on immigration, rather than just projecting the past into the future. Here are some sample innovations of the type that might surface — if we give ourselves permission to do some hard thinking:

1. Perhaps refugees should be admitted just *temporarily* rather than *permanently*, as at present. If things quiet down or improve at home, why shouldn't refugees go home, so that we can then extend help to the next round of people needing succor?
2. What about allowing U.S. citizens to sell on the open market their right of residence in the U.S.? This is a highly valuable commodity in today's world. It would fetch perhaps a quarter of a million dollars or more. With that kind of money in a trust fund, some of our citizens would be much better off living in another country, many of which would be delighted to add such an affluent citizen. Even at a paltry 4 percent interest, $250,000 would generate $10,000 a year, with which one could live quite well in many places around the globe — certainly better than while sleeping on some city's streets in January.
3. Do we need to offer permanent residence in order to get people to invest in the United States? Evidently not; very few have taken up that provision of the 1990 Immigration Act.
4. In order to have access to foreign intellectual workers for the United States, do they need to move here? Evidently not — growing sections of the intellectual community now work electronically from remote locations via phone, fax, modem, overnight mail, and satellite. Do software programmers need to move from India to the United States in order to give us access to their skills?
5. How about temporary trades of residence? Just as there are now services to arrange the trade of houses between people who would like to experience one another's country, temporary exchanges of residence could be set up, keeping both countries in

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demographic balance. This sounds like a good business opportunity. I'll volunteer to broker it, along with No. 2 above.

6. Perhaps we should send educators overseas rather than bringing students to our home countries. It would be a broadening experience for the educators, and would avoid introducing students to the attractive conditions of the developed countries, which cannot be duplicated in their homelands. This disparity helps set the stage for their eventual migration. As the World War I song had it, "How're you going to keep them down on the farm after they've seen Paree?"

Summary

In the end, the choices presented by migration can be reduced to three basic questions:

How many people shall each country admit, and **what factors** should be taken into account in setting this limit?

Who should be chosen to immigrate, and **what criteria** should be used for choosing among the many candidates?

How can we enforce the rules in a humane fashion?

My answers for the United States to these three questions are:

How many should we admit? I recommend 200,000 a year. This is the resultant number if migration is limited to spouses and children of current U.S. citizens, plus 50,000 (temporary) refugees yearly. Given the dynamics of the situation, the spouses and children category and overall numbers would gradually decline over time. This would allow our population to stabilize.

Who should be admitted? Just the categories listed above.

How to control migration? A combination of intra-national measures such as employer sanctions and limiting social benefits to just legal residents; measures at the border to interdict illegal entry; better screening and tracking visa entrants, so overstays can be ushered out; and some assistance to the countries of origin to help them address their problems — when and where we can figure out how to do more good than harm with the limited resources we have available.

What are *your* answers to these questions?

I do not see a new global *Völkerwanderung*, with tens and even hundreds of millions of people *permanently* crossing national borders each year. At a point not far distant, most of the target nations will take whatever steps are necessary to control entry and protect their territory, just as many of us now do individually for our own homes and apartments. Most of us already lock our doors, and for good reason.

The vast majority of the world's people will have to bloom where they have been planted, and will not be able to escape to unoccupied and virgin lands, which in any case no longer exist.

Times have changed, and it's time we adjusted our thinking to new circumstances. ■

NOTES

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[9] Private communication from a Hong Kong businessman who contracts for workers in Bangladesh to produce trinkets for the U.S. market.

[10] *Matthew* 6:28,29.

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[18] Lawrence Thompson and R. H. Winnick, *Robert Frost: The Later Years, 1938-1963* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1977).

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[20] John Bartlett, *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 15th Ed., 1980), p. 388, no. 7.

[21] General Accounting Office Study, "Illegal Aliens: Influence of Illegal Workers on Wages and Working Conditions of Legal Workers," PEMD-88-13BR, March 1988, pp. 39-41.

[22] *The Social Contract*, "Immigration and Free Trade with Mexico," Vol. II, No. 1, Fall 1991; *The Social Contract*, "NAFTA and Immigration," Vol. IV, No. 1, Fall 1993.

[23] *Genesis* 1:28.

[24] Bartlett, op. cit., p. 522, No. 12.

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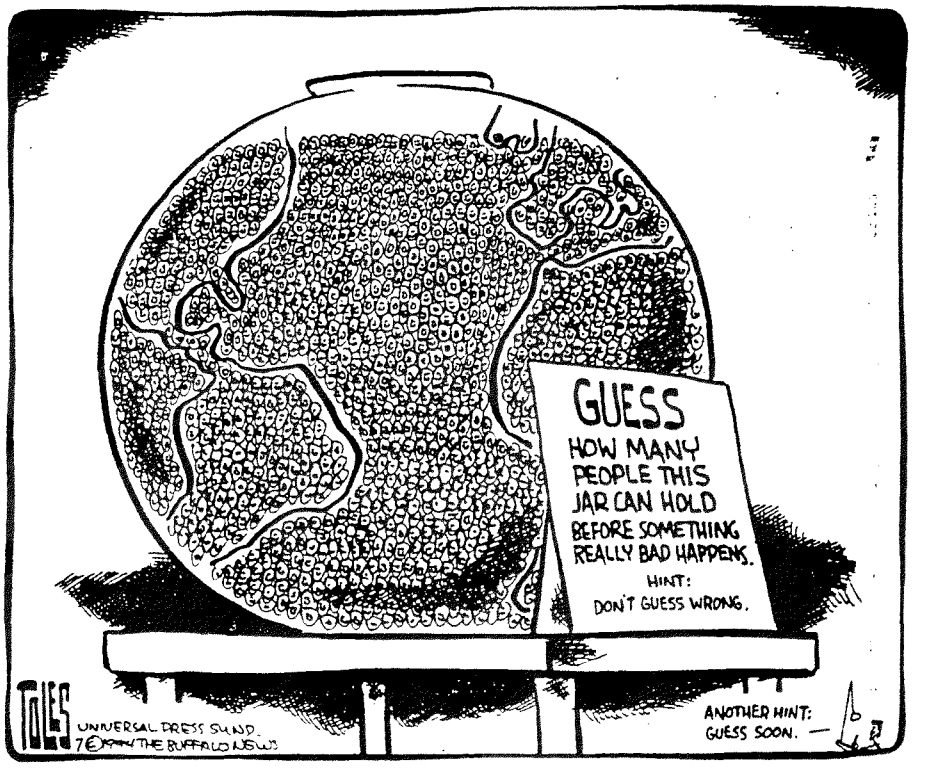

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POINT AND COUNTERPOINT in the IMMIGRATION DEBATE

A One-Act Play by John Tanton

Cast: Two persons. "WE" represents those who favor reduced immigration and cite in general the environmental, social and economic carrying capacity of our country. "THEY" represents those favoring expanded immigration who cite in general a desire for more diversity, a larger population and perpetual economic expansion.

WE: Shortages.

THEY: Unlimited resources. An aging society.

WE: Later retirement. Brain drain.

THEY: No jobs at home. Diversity.

WE: Division. Bilingualism.

THEY: Biculturalism. Bilingual.

WE: Bi-illiterate. Emphasize commonalities.

THEY: Celebrate our differences. Family reunification.

WE: Chain migration. Skills-based selection.

THEY: Jobs Americans won't do. Challenge your motives.

WE: Challenge YOUR motives. Effect on U.S. underclass.

THEY: No job displacement. Restrictionist!

WE: Border anarchist! Population problem.

THEY: Must grow to compete. Globalism.

WE: The national interest. Border security.

THEY: Berlin Wall. Borderless economy.

WE: Strategic industries. Limits to assimilation.

THEY: Compassion. It worked in the past.

WE: Times have changed. Employer sanctions.

THEY: Discrimination. Xenophobia.

WE: Xenophilia. Costs.

THEY: Benefits. Albert Einstein.

WE: Sirhan Sirhan. Mafia.

THEY: Arturo Toscanini...

EMMA LAZARUS...

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY!!

WE: Touché! Nolo contendere! Checkmate!

[Exeunt]

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In the late 1980s and early 1990s, proposals surfaced for building Japanese "enclaves" on Australian soil. Political controversy scuttled the idea. Now it has resurfaced in the United States, this time under Chinese auspices. These two articles are reprinted with permission from the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette *editions of August 4 and 8, 1994.*

A New 'Chinatown'

By Doug Thompson

Little Rock, Arkansas, August 4, 1994

A group that wants to build a "Chinatown" near Little Rock [Arkansas] for 2,000 immigrants says it has obtained $500 million from foreign investors for the project.

Cheung K. "Jimmy" Ng's company, Chinatown USA Inc., will disclose its backers' identities Sunday at a reception in the Little Rock Hilton Hotel, spokesman James Mitchell said. Chinese and Japanese investors are the primary backers, Mitchell said. Local investment is not being sought.

The concept is to offer a planned community to Chinese immigrants as an alternative to established — and overcrowded — Chinatowns in bigger U.S. cities, Mitchell said.

"The idea is not to isolate themselves from the surrounding community," he said, but to give them a familiar community base from which they can acclimate themselves in the United States.

Ng, president of Chinatown USA, is best known in Little Rock for setting up the Arkansas-China Trade Association. That trading company's opening celebration earlier this year was marred when guest Elena Yee presented herself as the U.S. ambassador to China and was accorded VIP treatment by Little Rock and chamber of commerce officials. Yee, however, held no position in the U.S. government.

Ng filed for personal bankruptcy in December 1990, after losses closed the Bamboo Gardens Restaurant in Little Rock. Ng was part owner of the restaurant. Ng had been in the restaurant business since moving to the United States from Sun Woi, China, in 1950.

Chinatown USA and the Arkansas-China Trade Association are two separate enterprise, Mitchell said. The association is a group of ethnic Chinese businessmen in the United States and other countries looking for trade opportunities. Chinatown USA is a development project, "something Jimmy Ng's worked toward for a long time," Mitchell said. "For the last year and a half it's been a real struggle, but it's all coming together."

Chinatown USA is still looking for about 500 acres in the Little Rock area, Mitchell said. Plans are to market homes and business sites in the area to Chinese business owners who are not fully convinced that free market capitalism will survive under Chinese Communist Party rule. Also, with Hong Kong reverting to Chinese rule from British control in 1997, Mitchell said, many Chinese there are interested in relocating in the United States. "It's a hedge," Mitchell said.

Having a place to go and a company to work for when one gets there eases the immigration process, Mitchell said. "They're planning [for] two schools, an area for light industries, some shopping area, a large park and a community center," Mitchell said. "Much of the architectural styling, especially in the park, will be Chinese. They also plan to have one in four jobs created in the area to go to local residents, people who already live here."

"The concept is to offer a planned community to Chinese immigrants as an alternative to established ... Chinatowns in bigger U.S. cities."

If Chinatown, Arkansas, succeeds, the project will be the first of seven such communities, Mitchell said. Others are planned in Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana, he said.

A culturally diverse community "really has something to offer, from food to culture to clothes," said Mayor Jim Daily of Little Rock. "So I hope (Ng) can create this. I don't know the particulars about whether it is feasible. For that, you'll have to talk to him."

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Although the trade association and the Chinatown project are formally separate, the two ventures share the same president — Ng. According to company statements, Alfred K. Goh of Dallas is on the board of both organizations. Frances Ng, Jimmy Ng's wife, is secretary-treasurer of Chinatown, USA.

Also, the trade association hopes to benefit from a Chinatown, Sum To said, when the association opened in March. To, spokesman for Midland Eagle Corp. of Hong Kong, an investor in the association, said a community of Chinese-speaking and -writing citizens would be a great help in conducting business between the two countries.

* * *

Little Rock, Arkansas, August 8, 1994

The backers of the proposed Chinatown, Arkansas, project remained a mystery Sunday.

The leaders of Chinatown, USA Inc., announced Wednesday they would reveal the names of the proposal's financial backers along with other details at a reception Sunday, but they could not because financial arrangements are not complete, company president Jimmy Ng said.

The group wants to build a 500-acre, 2,000-resident development for Chinese immigrants to the United States.

"I can tell you that there are two groups who have formed a joint venture, one Chinese, the other Japanese," Ng said. The Chinese group contains many Hong Kong businesses that want to relocate in the United States, he said.

Ng received a letter of commitment from the joint venture dated July 24, he said. "That's all I can say until everything's in place. I have been told to keep this (their names) confidential until money is transferred to the U.S., and cannot get permission to release any more information," Ng said. "As soon as I have permission, I will call you. That's my promise to you."

Chinatown, Arkansas, is a pilot project designed to aid the emigration of businesses to the state as much as people, Ng said. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service restricts businesses that want to relocate, accepting only those above a certain size. Businesses from Hong Kong that meet the criteria would be allowed to move, NG said, along with their managers.

Once here, the businesses could offer jobs to other would-be immigrants. Having a job waiting for you is a definite aid to complying with immigration laws and getting a visa, Ng said. However, jobs created would not be reserved exclusively or even primarily for Chinese, he said.

The goal is to allow a comfortable, familiar place for Chinese who want to immigrate to the United States. The group wants to avoid any segregation of immigrants into a closed colony of its own, he said. If Chinatown, Arkansas, succeeds, Ng said, Chinatown, USA, will do the same thing in six other Southern states.

China "has produced much anger and pain, but has also produced a people who are industrious and courageous," Ng told a group of about 65 people who attended his announcement reception Sunday. All but about 10 of them were Chinese. "I feel great. I'm confident in this vision I've long held of helping the people of China and the U.S. to walk together."

"If Chinatown, Arkansas, succeeds, Ng said, Chinatown, USA, will do the same thing in six other Southern states."

No site has been selected, Ng said, but three in the Little Rock area are being considered. Architectural drawings dated March 1994 showed the project as it would appear if built west of Gillam Park and south of Fourche Creek, near the intersection of Interstate 30 and U.S. 65-167, but that site has not been chosen, Ng said.

The group is looking for a site of about 500 acres that would accommodate 500 homes and about 100 business sites.

This venture is separate from the Arkansas-China Trade Association but shares many of the same participants, including himself, Ng said. The trade association was set up by a Hong Kong corporation called Midland Eagle. Sum To, an associate of Ng's who works for Midland Eagle, is also helping coordinate the group of Hong Kong investors in Chinatown, USA, Ng said.

The group is not soliciting funds locally or applying for any grants, assistance or loans, Ng said. ■

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Sarah G. Epstein comes from a long line of family planning advocates and people concerned about population. Her father, Dr. Clarence Gamble, founded Pathfinder International, on whose board she serves. Pathfinder provides birth control training and services overseas. Ms. Epstein also serves on the boards of Planned Parenthood of Washington, D.C. and of FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform.

Women's Issues Recognized at Cairo

The U.N. International Conference on Population and Development

Reportage by Sarah G. Epstein

This past September in Cairo, I waited in line six hours for my press pass at the main building of the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (UN ICPD). When I finally faced the intake worker at a computer, I was suddenly nervous that my invitation from the Managing Editor, Stephen Fay, to be a Special Correspondent for the *Brattleboro* (VT) *Reformer* had not been stored with the requests from some estimated 4,000 other news journals. Fortunately, all was in order and within a few moments I was photographed and had my pass laminated in a plastic card suspended on a necklace chain. I anticipated almost two weeks of decision making that could change women's lives for the better everywhere.

Security throughout Cairo was obvious and tight, especially at the huge Conference Center facilities where I had picked up my credentials. Days before the opening, Muslim extremists threatened to disrupt the UN ICPD. Among their objections to the final draft for the Plan of Action to be presented to the conferees was language they felt condoned and promoted homosexuality. Some members of the Population Institute group, a non-governmental charitable organization for which I was a delegate, decided not to go to Cairo at the last minute, unwilling to run the risk. All of us were genuinely concerned.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak stationed soldiers, police and plain-clothes officers everywhere. When I first arrived at my hotel, I had to have a personal check and baggage search. At the Conference Center itself, either to enter the official delegates hall or the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) forum in the building next door, passes and purses were inspected several times. I was glad for the caution.

As I mingled with the vast crowds at the opening session on September 5, 1994, I felt the thrill I have when waiting for the opera curtain to rise. Around me were people in colorful dress and faces of all shades.

From the press balcony I could see delegates from about 180 countries. Scattered among them were officials in Arab headdresses, Nigerian robes, Japanese kimonos, African prints, Indian saris, and Sikh turbans, and I heard echoes of many languages. Women delegates were numerous.

The scene in Cairo was very different from the UN population and development conference held in Mexico City in 1984, where all but a handful of official delegates were men. At the opening ceremony of the meeting of ten years ago, I was distressed to see a dozen male delegates and speakers on the platform, but not one woman! Shocking at an international conference dealing with family planning.

Under the Reagan Administration, "population" was termed a "neutral" factor by the United States delegation, headed by a Catholic former US senator from New York state, James Buckley. Immediately after that conference, all US funding for the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) and the UN Fund for Population Assistance (UNFPA) was terminated by Reagan's presidential edict.

In contrast, at Cairo three of the main opening ceremony speakers were women. The Secretary General of the entire conference was Dr. Nafis Sadik, who is also head of the UNFPA. She concluded her remarks by saying, "We cannot solve the environmental crisis without solving the population crisis ... notably absent from this critical dialogue are the ordinary women and men in whose names resolutions will be hammered out. What do they want and need?"

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Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, had special symbolic significance, coming from a conservative Muslim country. She spoke vigorously for family planning and the need to increase education and economic opportunities for women. She was frank in saying that the religious views in her country did not permit legal abortion.

Gro Harlem Bruntland, Prime Minister of Norway, received a standing ovation from many listeners. She put the need to promote family planning choices in the context of democracy and morality. Without saying so directly, she effectively challenged persistent papal attempts to claim moral infallibility in opposing contraception and abortion, and the Vatican's claim that the only true definition of "family" is a married man and woman and their natural and legally adopted children.

Some Muslim conservatives joined Vatican opposition to the UN ICPD document at first, but I suspect that they would split on how exactly to define the family unit since their laws allow a man up to four wives.

New at this year's UN ICPD was the documented emphasis throughout the Plan of Action on the need to empower women. In the developing world, girls receive less education than boys and poorer health care. Women are often restricted by laws governing property, inheritance, and marriage and divorce rights. Women have difficulty borrowing money, obtaining training, entering professions, serving in government, or being hired in traditional male arenas. Also at this UN ICPD, concerns about the environment and development were linked to population growth. At the 1992 UN Conference on Development and the Environment in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, those opposed to reproductive health choices blocked consideration of the effect of population growth on the environment.

In Cairo, there was a new recognition of the key role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs); some 700 NGOs were represented there and generally acknowledged to be a vital part in forging the final outcome of the Plan of Action.

Each morning at the NGO Forum there were caucuses: one on women's issues, one on youth, and one on the environment. Attending delegates could choose from many planned workshops and presentations, such as one presented by the International Union of Scientists on the Study of Population, Environment and Security, or Pathfinder International's Advocacy for Youth where young people gathered from both developed and developing countries in a "Teen Theatre" where skits were acted out depicting social/sexual situations, to which the audience reacted, reflecting their differing cultural attitudes and needs in their responses.

There were groups focusing on migration, immigration and refugees, on religious and ethical concerns, on AIDS, on female circumcision, on sexually transmitted diseases, etc. In short, it proved a marvelous opportunity for delegates to network and many helpful links were forged for future cooperative efforts at problem solving. Often official delegations were lobbied as new strategies emerged.

One workshop title that particularly intrigued me was "Development of the Lives of Garbage Collectors at Mukattam and Environmental Improvement," presented by the Association of Garbage Collectors for Community Development.

Publicity and the Vatican

The media thrives on conflict. This ingredient was amply provided by the Vatican. Journalists were alerted by reports of conflicting goals and ideas from the three pre-conference meetings of official and NGO delegates who worked during the preceding months to hammer out a Plan of Action of about 113 pages. This was not easy when the document had to be translated into English, Spanish, French, and Arabic, and perhaps more languages. Shades of meaning, cultural interpretation and religious points of view made progress slow.

However, a remarkable consensus was forged. Words, phrases or paragraphs were bracketed when a country delegation objected. The Vatican, for example, put brackets around "reproductive health care" and "safe motherhood" whenever these phrases appeared. To the Vatican the former could mean "birth control," and the latter could countenance abortions, in its view. At the opening of the UN ICPD session where the final wording would be decided, almost all brackets still in place were there due to the Vatican and other conservative religious delegates.

The final document was hammered out in public on the main floor under the able direction of Dr. Fred Sai, chair of the UN ICPD Main Committee and, since 1989, president of IPPF. The media correctly anticipated controversy as sensitive sections of the Plan were argued, as well as in the activities of the

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"right to life" and conservative religious groups at the NGO Forum. Indeed, where some NGOs had booths, "right to life" groups had posters of fetuses claimed to be aborted, and reams of literature. Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free Choice (CFC), said that members of such groups were assigned to follow and stick with her and each of her associates, so when a member of the media asked her or a CFC delegate questions, the opponents could break in and immediately try to refute any statement.

The Vatican is the only religious group given permanent observer status at the UN due to its territorial enclave in Rome and the fact that some countries send ambassadors to the Vatican. With this advantageous status, the Vatican was able to hold up proceedings on the approval of those areas of the Plan of Action document dealing mainly with reproductive health, and did so for five whole days of the Conference. The coverage by the press naturally focused on this performance. The frustration of the official delegates was increasingly evidenced in the deliberations.

BLESSED MARY, I NEED TO KNOW WHICH IS THE GREATEST SIN: BRINGING ANOTHER FEW BILLION POOR, STARVING CHILDREN INTO THE WORLD?
THIRD WORLD
...OR USING THE PILL?

The allies the Vatican had won through lobbying before the beginning of the Conference fell away except for the tiny island of Malta. Perhaps realizing that "about 150 celibate old men in long dresses and slippers," as one reporter represented the Vatican in his story, was too revealing as an anti-woman stance, the Holy See finally agreed to sign the Plan of Action as long as their objections were printed in the final document.

Thus the log jam was broken and the Vatican declared "victory."

From the press balcony, I observed each spokesperson for a country delegation approve the total document or approve it with stated reservations. When it came to the Vatican's turn Archbishop Martino stood up, listed the many sections to which his delegation objected, and said that "contraception, sterilization and abortion, and even the use of condoms to prevent the spread of HIV, should never be used." It reminded me of the US government when it declared victory and left Vietnam as rapidly as possible. The Holy See vanished from the conference scene, giving no further press conferences. My reading is that the Vatican did the UN ICPD a great favor by its stubborn stand, and groups that might have argued among themselves joined as a united front to move forward the issues important to women.

Many official delegates and NGO groups expressed disappointment that more time had not been allotted to environmental, human rights, development and education concerns.

I perceived a general sense of unity among most delegations that everyone "North" and "South" belongs to one world. The world has serious problems and different religious and cultural approaches, but if the non-binding Plan of Action is followed, collaborative efforts can solve many of the problems.

Japan, Germany and the US pledged increased funds to meet family planning, development and education needs. The "North" recognized and admitted to its pollution and overconsumption as a cause of environmental degradation. The "South" admitted to the need to reduce further its birthrate (95 percent of population increase is now in developing countries) and to increase educational and employment opportunities for women.

The final Plan of Action addresses in detail these areas of concern and how to improve the situation during the next 20 years. It is estimated that it will eventually cost $17 billion annually by the year 2000

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to operate the program projected.

Developing countries will provide two-thirds of funding needed and the developed world one-third, or just under $6 billion. Tim Wirth, under secretary for Global Affairs and head of the 43-person US delegation, declared at a news conference that the Plan of Action as finally adopted was better than the draft document presented at the outset of the Cairo meeting.

Women should be pleased that their general health and educational needs have been stressed, as a necessary foundation for lowering birthrates and improving the quality of their lives. Hopefully, with all-out effort, the world population, now at 5.67 billion, can be stabilized in 2025 at under 8 billion. If not slowed, the total population of our planet by 2050 could easily reach 13 billion or more.

People on the Move

One important NGO representative with whom I spoke said that the burning issue over the 20-year life of this Plan will be the question of migration, both into the cities from rural areas and across national borders. Increasingly, citizens of the poor and unstable nations of the south will not only clash within their own borders but will push to enter the affluent nations of the northern hemisphere, claiming family reunification, refugee or asylum status or simply the blatant right to go where they wish to live, regardless of the sovereign policies of the US and other developed nations.

Japan's racial purity views, Norway's strict migration laws, and the lack of need in the US for additional unskilled labor will be sorely tested in the two decades ahead. I think the US is already suffering from an "excess of altruism" and the frustration of continually providing food and medical aid and shelter to people in areas of war and starvation around the globe.

On the thorny matter of family reunification, many prescient observers in the West say that such reunification should be reversed by encouraging immigrants to return to their countries of origin rather than permitting their legions of relatives to join them in their new country, thus overloading its facilities and resources. The UN estimates that there are about 125 million migrants in the world, including refugees, and that the number might more than double in the next 20 years.

Among other issues, one group of Arab NGO women complained that the abortion focus of the Cairo meeting shifted attention from what they thought should have been **the** vital issue for the UN ICPD — namely "development," particularly for women.

While this need is evident, if anyone agrees with the perpetual cornucopians, such as Julian Simon, that the world's economies and countries can **grow** their way to prosperity without severely limiting population, he or she should first study the implications of bio-diversity, sustainable development, and in general about the natural resource limitation of this planet.

It is the world's poor women I thought about as I watched the approval of the final Plan of Action. Will the mother of six who sends her children daily to the garbage dump to scrabble for rotting food or discarded rags and cardboard ever benefit from the promised better education and general health provisions, including family planning and a safe abortion, if it is legal in her country? When her children reach their teens, will they find a job that will enable them to live in more than a makeshift shack without plumbing, and to form a family as defined by the Vatican?

All the haggling over wording and the fact that her future was being discussed at Cairo is completely unknown to this exhausted mother and the millions like her around the world. It is now up to the governments of the delegates and the attending NGOs to deliver the services and education needed, for in truth, the real results of the UN ICPD remain to be accomplished.

It is to be hoped that this woman and her many sisters and their children in this overcrowded world will indeed benefit. Those of us who attended this historic meeting in Cairo owe it to them and to our own children and grandchildren to provide and leave as an inheritance an ecologically sustainable and safe world where all humanity has a reasonable chance for a life of quality and equality. The UN ICPD has given us a hopeful start. ■

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Richard Lamm is a former governor of Colorado who now directs the Center for Public Policy and Contemporary Issues at the University of Denver.

Immigration: The Shifting Paradigm

By Richard D. Lamm

Someone once showed me how public policy paradigms shifted. The first step is:

NO TALK NO DO

No one is talking about the issue. No one is doing anything about it. This gives way to:

TALK NO DO

as a few opinion molders began to articulate a different vision. This quickly becomes:

TALK DO

The issue is now in full flood. Now everyone is talking and debating the issue and change is commencing. Laws are being changed, mores evolving, organizations reflecting the new order are springing up. Lastly,

NO TALK DO

— the paradigm has shifted, the matter is no longer being hotly debated and the contentiousness has largely gone out of the issue. The new ethic or the new order has arrived and is widely accepted.

Changing a long-standing institution like immigration was bound to involve a long, bitter battle. Immigration has served this nation too well to be lightly cast aside. The burden of proof for less immigration ought to be placed on those questioning this long-standing institution. It is up to us to show that the conditions which made immigration an asset have changed, and to prove that we are saying something different from earlier immigration opponents.

With that said, we also know that public policy makers are slow to recognize changed conditions. Barbara Tuchman has observed:

> *Policy is formed by preconceptions and by long implanted biases. When information is relayed to policy makers, they respond in terms of what is already inside their heads and consequently make policy less to fit the facts than to fit the baggage that has accumulated since childhood.*

Immigration is a good example. Our immigration policy does not fit our present needs or realities, but reflects more the "baggage" that accumulates around a policy that once made sense and around which has developed a powerful nostalgia.

But reality eventually trumps nostalgia. Polls today show an overwhelming percentage of Americans want less or no immigration. In many states, immigration is *the* political issue — having gone from obscurity to dominance in a few short years. What happened?

We have just seen a paradigm being shifted. We lived through it. We helped make it happen. The battle is not over yet but we are in the "talk/do" stage and the issue will never again engender unquestioning acceptance. As John Tanton has observed: "The age of migration is coming to an end."

It is of more than a little interest to watch how this issue has exploded in the media. Ten years ago, even as a sitting governor, I found it was difficult to place so much as an op-ed piece questioning immigration. There is a liberal orthodoxy in the press that makes an issue like immigration especially hard to question. Garrett Hardin would write a piece or Roger Conner would shame some newspaper into a story covering the issue, but it was largely outside the national dialogue.

Paradigm shifts seldom have a single author. Darwin and Galileo notwithstanding, large orthodoxies usually change because gradually many individuals here and there recognize that these orthodoxies have outlived their usefulness. A few especially perceptive people rethink the issue and place their thoughts before the public. Critics from the old order savage these pioneers. Huxley once observed that "all great truths begin as heresy." But the heresy is examined by thoughtful people and picks up supporters. Soon, a national debate ensues.

For instance, Richard Estrada, who helped popularize this issue and who has drawn more than his share of criticism: in a series of elegantly written

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op-ed pieces, Estrada took on the immigration orthodoxy and single-handedly made many people rethink the issue. He moved from signed op-ed pieces to unsigned editorials as he was elevated to the editorial pages of the *Dallas Morning News*. The preciseness of his writing and the power of his logic changed a lot of minds and trimmed many a sail.

Issues begin as a whisper and quickly turn into a shout. Suddenly, seeds planted bloom everywhere. Note Jack Miles' wonderful article, "Blacks versus Browns," in the October 1992 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*. With obvious feeling and intensity, Jack Miles came to the painful conclusion that it did not make sense to add a second underclass until we had dealt successfully with the black underclass. Almost fighting himself every step of the way, this honest reporter wrote of the immigration issue as he had lived it — as he had observed it take place in his Los Angeles:

> *If there were no Latinos — and no other immigrants — around to do all the work that is to be done in Los Angeles, would blacks not be hired to do it? I think they would be. Wages might have to be raised. Friction might be acute for a while. But, in the end, the work would go looking for available workers.*

Citing Vernon Briggs and other scholars, Miles uses his own experiences living in Los Angeles to show how legal and illegal immigrants displace black workers; how they put a drag on the wages of all workers and contribute to the type of tensions that produced the Los Angeles riots. Miles recognized that it was not enough to have a large heart; one had to recognize that choices had consequences. The immigration of Latinos had significant consequences to Black America.

> *By an irony that I find particularly cruel, Latino immigration may be doing to American Blacks at the end of the twentieth century what European immigrants did to them at the end of the nineteenth.*

We must also give credit to Peter Brimelow and his article, "Time to Rethink Immigration," in the June 22, 1992, issue of the *National Review*. An immigrant himself, Brimelow, like Miles, simply stops and asks, "What will it do to our cohesiveness as a nation?"

Brimelow looks at the jobs issue and questions why we are taking largely unskilled immigrants in a world economy where national success depends on the skills and talents of its workers. Citing George J. Borjas (another immigrant), Brimelow points out that our immigrant stream is increasingly made up of unskilled workers who compete with our own unskilled for jobs and lower the wages of the jobs available to our own poor. He further points out that less than 4 percent of the legal immigrants were "admitted on the basis of skills."

"Massive policy contortions are employed in an attempt to make sense of a policy that adds millions of low skilled immigrants to a nation with substantial numbers of unemployed and underemployed of its own."

Additionally, Brimelow shows that wages of native high school dropouts fell by 10 percent in the 1980s relative to the wages of more educated workers, and experts calculate about a third of that decline is attributable to immigration.

This sub-issue will grow in significance in the immigration debate. I am convinced American public policy is not getting an objective look at this issue. We are constantly told by the orthodoxy that immigrants "pay their way" and do not substantially take jobs from U.S. workers. Massive policy contortions are employed in an attempt to make sense of a policy that adds millions of low-skilled immigrants to a nation with substantial numbers of unemployed and underemployed of its own.

I would suggest that we need more recognition of the obvious and less investigation of the obscure. I am not impressed with scholars-with-a-viewpoint, often funded by the Ford Foundation, who study limited geographic areas and pronounce no (or little) displacement.

Let's look at the U.S. job market with open eyes. The U.S. Department of Labor estimates that we will create 18 million new jobs during the 1990s. During the 1990s, 35 million Americans will turn 18 and 79 percent of these will go out on the labor market. That

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means about 28 million new entrants to the labor market.

Now, approximately 1 million people a year retire and though some of these retire because their jobs have been eliminated, let's assume 10 million jobs will open up because of retirement.

This still leaves 28 million new labor entrants and 28 million new job openings, without immigration and without considering our own unemployed and underemployed. Does it make sense with 8 million unemployed, and perhaps another 8 million discouraged workers who do not appear on the unemployment statistics, to bring in 10 to 13 million immigrants? The numbers do not make sense on their face. The jobs are not created in the same way they were when we had an empty continent filled with free land. We live in a cash/wage economy where an average job required over $70,000 in capital to create. The jobs we need are those which require skills to fill and capital to create. It is reckless public policy to bring in massive numbers of unskilled immigrants without any idea of how these people will add to the economy or the competitiveness of America.

However powerful the economic arguments, the paradigm has probably shifted more for sociological reasons. Jobs are hard to trace through a $6 trillion economy, but "Sixty Minutes" can show the bombing of the World Trade Center by immigrants or the welfare fraud committed by illegal immigrants and change more minds on one Sunday night than most of us can change in a year. The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), generally, and Dan Stein and Ira Mehlman in particular, have furnished the research and background to show the abuse of asylum and welfare by immigrants. These are hot-point political issues which have contributed considerably to awakening the public to some downsides of immigration.

Stories beget stories. "Sixty Minutes" helps make a subject respectable and then *Reader's Digest* feels safe in printing "Welfare for Illegal Aliens?" (*Readers's Digest*, June 1994). *Reader's Digest* has ten times the circulation of *The Atlantic Monthly* and is read by people who write their Congress people and call their talk show hosts.

While these issues consolidate and expand, Roy Beck, again in *The Atlantic Monthly*, raises another sensitive issue: assimilation. America has almost a blind faith in the "melting pot," but the process might be breaking down under the strain of numbers. "The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau" (*The Atlantic Monthly*, April 1994) shows how well-meaning religious people, encouraging settlement of refugees, can create significant unintended consequences. Increasingly, Americans are questioning whether the "melting pot" model is working, while many are arguing that it is not even appropriate. "Sixty Minutes" broadcast a TV version the Wausau story in October.

No less a person than Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (W.W. Norton, 1992) weighs in on this subject adding a powerful liberal voice to the argument.

All of these articles stand on their own merits, but also form part of massive change of the mind of the public. They reflect a wonderful case model of how accepted orthodoxies are challenged and changed. They show that a few people who care can affect change by the power of their ideas.

I heard a speaker once observe that there were "river issues" and "boat issues." The boat issues were the matters of the day — temporary issues that are written up in newspapers. River issues are the large movements of a society. These are the issues not of newspapers as much as of history books. They are the significant societal issues that truly affect change. Boat issues float back and forth on river issues, but the river issues ultimately control.

It is my passionate belief that when the history of these times is written, the issues of population, the environment and immigration will be shown to be "river issues" — and the public will come to appreciate their significance by a process roughly described as:

NO TALK - NO DO
TALK - NO DO
TALK - DO
NO TALK - DO. ■

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Immigration problems are cropping up all across the globe. This article is reprinted with permission from the Los Angeles Times, *August 29, 1994.*

'Lost' Jews Force Israel To Rethink Immigration

By Mary Curtius

Ten families from India who believe they are descended from one of the 10 lost tribes of Israel are at the center of new controversy over Israel's Law of Return.

For the first time, senior Israeli officials are asking publicly whether the time has come to change the policy that any Jew, from anywhere, can claim instant citizenship upon arrival in Israel.

A note of hysteria was introduced into the public discussion this month after newspapers reported that Israel's ambassador to India, Ephraim Dubek, sent a secret cable to the Foreign Ministry warning that representatives of another Indian group numbering many millions had recently inquired about the possibility of emigrating to Israel.

For a nation of 5 million, still struggling to absorb about 500,000 Russian immigrants who have fled the former Soviet Union in the last four years, the ambassador's cable hit like a bombshell.

In recent days, Immigration Minister Yair Tsaban and Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin have said Israel might have to rethink the Law of Return if dilemmas such as those posed by the Indians continue to occur.

"The Law of Return was adopted against the background of the Holocaust," Tsaban said. "The basic assumption was that the Jewish faith was not such a splendid one that non-Jews were eager to join it."

Now, however, Tsaban and other officials say Israel has become an attractive alternative for Third World residents eager to escape civil war, poverty and unrest.

"The truth is, Israel has no control over its immigration laws once someone claims to be Jewish," complained one senior official.

But in Kiryat Arba, a Jewish settlement near Hebron, Rivka Lunkhel is unconcerned about the furor.

"I wanted to live here because this is our country," said Lunkhel, a 22-year-old member of India's Shinlung tribe who came to Israel two weeks ago on a tourist visa. Lunkhel said that she has every intention of settling here for good with her husband, Haokhothang — now called Joshua — and their 15-month-old daughter, Runi.

"We are happy here," she said as she sat in one of the sparsely furnished mobile homes that the Shinlung have been given as temporary housing. As she spoke, members of the nine other families who flew to Israel with the Lunkhels were studying Hebrew prayer books nearby. The men have adopted the skullcaps and fringed undershirts commonly worn by observant Jews. The women cover their heads with scarves and wear long skirts, as do many Orthodox women.

"The frightening thing for the Israeli government is that the Shinlung, who number about 1.5 million, appear to be only the tip of the Indian-Israeli iceberg."

Israel's Interior Ministry has not recognized the Shinlung claim that they are descended from the ancient Israelite tribe of Menashe. So the Shinlung families entered Israel on tourist visas and are now undergoing strict Orthodox conversions under the supervision of Kiryat Arba rabbis.

Once their conversions are completed, the state will have to grant them citizenship under the requirements of the Law of Return. The Shinlung then will be able to apply for family members to follow them.

The frightening thing for the Israeli government

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is that the Shinlung, who number about 1.5 million, appear to be only the tip of the Indian-Israeli iceberg.

Even as the first Shinlung were arriving in Israel, Israel's ambassador to India had cabled the Foreign Ministry, informing officials that he was receiving letters and phone calls from members of another Indian tribe, the Dalit, who also say they are long-lost Jews interested in emigrating to Israel.

Also known as Harijans or untouchables, they are at the bottom of India's caste system and were once subject to discrimination and social restrictions.

Indeed, people claiming to belong to the "lost tribes of Israel" are appearing everywhere. There is a petition now before the Israeli High Court from Chima Onyeulo, a member of the Ibo tribe of Nigeria, demanding that he be granted citizenship under the Law of Return. Onyeulo insists that Ibo is simply a corruption of the word "Hebrew" and that the Ibo, most of whom are Christian, are members of one of the lost tribes of Israel. There are several million Ibo.

But Tsaban is not amused by the efforts of Rabbi Eliyahu Avichail, founder of the Amishav (My People Return) organization, who is dedicated to scouring the earth for the lost tribes. It is Avichail who "found" the Shinlung and is now active in bringing them to Israel. ■

Migration problems are apparently found in every corner of the globe. This report on the South Africa-Mozambique border is reprinted with permission from The Christian Science Monitor, *September 21, 1994.*

Illegal Immigration in South Africa

Christian Science Monitor

Last year 96,000 illegal immigrants — 81,000 from Mozambique — were expelled from South Africa compared with 44,225 in 1988.

With half of South Africans without formal employment, the issue of illegal immigrants from neighboring states had become one of the most sensitive political issues. Illegal Mozambicans alone are said to number between 500,000 and 1 million.

"With half of South Africans without formal employment, the issue of illegal immigrants from neighboring states had become one of the most sensitive political issues."

Trade unionists and small businessmen have joined the tide of angry black South Africans who condemn the stream of migrants pouring in, taking low-wage jobs, undercutting prices, and sending crime and unemployment levels soaring.

The electric fence that once helped to slow the flow of Mozambican migrants is now a thing of the past. But military experts and politicians argue about the most humane way of policing the long borders with Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Jakkie Cilliers, director of the Institute for Defense Politics, insists that the new South African National Defense Force must tackle the task of policing the country's borders more efficiently.

Others believe that the only way to resolve the problem is to concentrate on developing the neighboring states so that the flow of migrants will subside.

But herein lies the problem. The legacy of apartheid has left South Africa with such an internal imbalance in socioeconomic development that the government is finding it difficult to raise the resources to finance its own Reconstruction and Development Program.

"It is just not possible to develop the neighboring states to anything like the South African levels in even 10, 20 or 30 years," Mr. Cilliers says. "I wish South Africa even had the capacity to develop itself in that time." ■

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Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist and the author of several books on international affairs. Soon to be published is her newest book, Americans No More: The Death of Citizenship in America. *This column appeared in the* Washington Times *on September 4, 1994 and is reprinted by permission of the Universal Press Syndicate.*

Europe's Islamic Encounter

By Georgie Anne Geyer

One of the leading Dutch editors was surveying the mood of Europe this summer, when his attention focused on three compelling key words — refugees, Islam and commitment.

"After World War II, we young people were opposed to the old way of thinking," said Hans Moll, a top editor at the big newspaper *NRC Handelsblad.* "Then in the 1960s, there was a strong cultural relativist undertow in intellectual thinking. The idea was that all cultures were the same. Then came the new immigrants with different ways of thinking.

"When I was growing up, we made a laughingstock of the Roman Catholic Church — but when the Islamicists began to come, we stopped making those religious jokes. Nobody said anything against Islam. We were all cowards."

Today, Mr. Moll, a charming and thoughtful man who still dresses in the style of '60s (although he is balding now), thinks differently. Today, he and his friends see the ethos of this changing Europe predominantly reflected in three new factors: (1) resentment against aliens in general, (2) strong feelings they were "taken" by Islam, and (3) a conviction that it is high time European countries demand far more commitment from refugees than has hitherto been the case.

Indeed, everywhere one looked on the Continent this summer, one could see the dramatic degree to which Islam has lost that early panache for young Europeans, for whom it served as a vehicle for handy, if shallow, expression of resentments against their fathers' generation. At the same time, it is becoming ever clearer that the radical fundamental strains of Islam entering Europe are posing a real threat to European societies. That threat is marked not only by numbers of people but by new and lethal forms of both political and cultural immigration that were quite deliberately designed to infiltrate and change European societies.

- In Paris, French police this August staged a massive crackdown on Islamic activists who had been tunneling in among the 3 million Muslims in France, following the brutal killings of five French officials August 3 in Algeria. The police staged 13,000 spot ID checks, and the extremist Algerian "Islamic Salvation Front" actually issued a "declaration of war" against France. (It should be noted that most of Muslim immigrants are law-abiding workers, and many actually come to Europe to escape from the violence and intolerance of the fundamentalists.)
- In France, too, officials laid out the new immigration and asylum laws recently passed. Birthright citizenship, by which any child of anyone born in France is automatically a citizen, has been changed — now those children between the ages of 16 and 22 must actively seek French citizenship. As well, on other levels, there has been a tightening of immigration laws, as well as a number of court cases dealing with Muslim immigrants who have insisted they have the "right" to practice their barbaric female circumcision (removal of the clitoris at age 9) in contradiction of French laws and cultural and moral norms.

"... it is becoming ever clearer that the radical fundamentalist strains of Islam entering Europe are posing a real threat to European societies."

- In England for the last few years, as reported in London papers, the British state has been actively and dangerously challenged by extremist Muslim groups, 155 of whose members from 47 separate organizations actually met two years ago to form a "Muslim parliament" in England as an announced

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prelude to forming "Muslim states" in Europe. These states would embrace polygamy, instantaneous divorce, and the abolition of mixed-sex workplaces and public transport.

• In still another instance, Commonwealth immigrants from India in Great Britain have set up "British Hindu Untouchability," or in effect "no go" areas for untouchables — not in India, but in the country that is the world's very wellspring of equality before the law!

According to varied sources, Europe is awakening to the fact that immigrants are coming to actively change European society. France's conservative government recently warned that " the problems of immigration are ahead of us and not behind us," as the government noted that, by only the year 2000, 60 million of the 130 million population in just Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco will be under 20 years of age and "without a future."

Most interesting to me is the fact that men and women in their 40s, such as Hans Moll, are no longer deluded. "These immigrants, they take an oath to nothing here," he said, "My girlfriend works with asylum-seekers. She sees them as a microcosm of conflicts to come. She's for a stern approach: making things clear from the moment they come, what can be done and what can't." Socialization of the immigrants into Dutch society? "There is none whatsoever," he concluded.

One wonders when these commonsense and appropriate measures of European countries, which have every reason to be proud of themselves and to protect what they have so painstakingly created, will ever reach America's still utopian shores. ■

New York State Senate Majority Task Force on Immigration Files Immigration Lawsuit

On October 18, 1994, the New York State Senate Majority Task Force on Immigration, chaired by Senator Frank Padavan, filed a suit against the Federal Government to recover $33.6 billion spent over the past six years by New York State and localities as a direct result of federal immigration policy.

The State Senators were joined as plaintiffs in the suit filed in U.S. District Court in Albany by Thomas Gulotta, Nassau County Executive; Robert Gaffney, Suffolk County Executive, and John Buono, Rensselaer County Executive.

The State Senate Majority Task Force on Immigration was formed on March 24, 1994 by Senate Majority Leader Ralph Marino and charged to develop legislation to assist localities, particularly New York City, that are burdened with high costs associated with immigration. In 1993, Senator Padavan, chairman of the Senate Committee on Cities, held a series of public hearing on immigration. A report, *Our Teeming Shore*, was issued in January of this year. The Committee on Cities estimates that immigrants cost New York taxpayers $5.6 billion annually in the areas of education, health and welfare services, and law enforcement.

The Senate Majority Task Force filed suit on behalf of New York because Governor Mario Cuomo refused to take action on this pressing issue. The seven-count complaint asserts that by failing to control illegal immigration and protect New York's borders and by failing to provide for the consequences, the Federal government has violated the U.S. Constitution and that New York State is entitled to "declaratory, injunctive and restitutionary relief."

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What constitutes a refugee? This editorial comment is reprinted by permission from the New York Post, *July 12, 1994.*

Granting Gays Refugee Status

New York Post

Last month the Clinton administration quietly announced plans to open yet another path for mass migration into the United States: political asylum for homosexuals. In a Justice Department directive, Attorney General Janet Reno ordered U.S. immigration officials to consider applicants who claim to have been persecuted because they're homosexual eligible for entry under the asylum laws. Gay magazines report that hundreds have already applied.

In the meantime, word is sure to go out to impoverished folks throughout the world who dream of ways to come here that homosexuality has been rendered a legitimate asylum category — along with race, creed, political orientation and ethnicity.

We've long expected that immigration and asylum would be major issues in the 1998 national campaign. Thus, it will be interesting to see how Americans at large react to the Clinton administration's decision to create a designated entry path for homosexuals seeking to migrate here.

"...ample grounds will exist for gays around the world to employ the asylum vehicle. ...it's safe to assume that many will endeavor to do so."

Popular sentiment aside, the Justice Department directive strikes us as astonishingly ill-advised. Only a handful of countries — Fidel Castro's Cuba and a few Islamic states — openly discriminate against practicing gays. The demise of communism radically reduced the number of regimes avowedly hostile to homosexuality.

But gay activists have now stretched the definition of oppression to include anything short of full endorsement of homosexuality — in the schools and from the pulpits. Using such standards, ample grounds will exist for gays around the world to employ the asylum vehicle. And insofar as the U.S. remains the world's most tolerant society vis-a-vis homosexuality, it's safe to assume that many will endeavor to do so. Certainly, the multivaried events that took place in New York in late June secured America's status as the international gay mecca.

It has not been established whether there are 600 million homosexuals in the world (a number arrived at by extrapolating from the fabled and dubious ten percent figure claimed by gay activists) or 60 million; nor can anyone know how many heterosexuals are likely to feign homosexuality in order to jump to the front of the U.S. immigration line.

But the new policy — an unsubtle capitulation to the growing gay lobby — represents an invitation to fraud, one that's certain to make the effort to bring a measure of order to the U.S. immigration process all the more difficult. America's notoriously lax asylum system is already subject to wide abuse. Smugglers are well-versed in teaching would-be claimants how to pretend they've either experienced or fear persecution. Declaring an entirely new class of people — "persecuted homosexuals" — eligible for asylum will render it harder than ever to distinguish between individuals who genuinely face persecution and those who are simply anxious to jump to the head of a very long line. ■

Sign of the Times

Hand-lettered sign spotted by Arthur Witkin of Hartsdale, N.Y., taped to the information window of the office of the State Department of Motor Vehicles in White Plains:

THE PERSON WHO SPEAKS ENGLISH
WILL NOT BE IN TODAY

— *The New York Times*, August 17,1994

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This article highlights the level of "push" pressure for migration. Can you imagine yourself sealed into a freight container, not knowing when or where you will end up? This reprint is by permission from Professional Mariner, *207-772-2466, Issue #8, August/September 1994.*

Stowaway Problem in the U.S.

Coming to America as a stowaway aboard ship has never been easy, but lately this rather desperate form of illegal immigration has become dangerous, degrading, and an international political problem.

Long a volatile social issue in the U.S., the stowaway problem has recently come to a boil as shipping companies are complaining about punitive government policies, and the plight of unfortunate but often unwanted stowaways has caught the public eye.

Numerous stowaways have died recently while attempting to hitch a ride to the "land of the free," including those who have been forced to jump overboard, or who chose to jump overboard, and others who have died in sealed containers during transit.

Government requirements regarding the handling of apprehended stowaways are costing shipping companies tens of thousands of dollars for individuals discovered aboard ship. At least one European nation has complained bitterly that its citizens have been retained for long periods as chained and manacled "political prisoners." Indeed, a spokesman for Amnesty International charged in May that treatment of stowaways arriving in America is "outrageous" and suggested that most stowaways should not even be detained. United Nations officials also joined the chorus of complaints in early June.

The New York Association for New Americans, meanwhile, has complained that stowaways are being treated like criminals, particularly a group of 20 Rumanians who were taken off a Sea-Land containership on the East Coast. Members of that group, which included a number of teenagers, were confined in manacles in a hotel in Newark, N.J., for a month before being transferred to a Pennsylvania state prison. Prison officials felt obliged to have them locked in cells and denied normal prison privileges. A number of the stowaways started a hunger strike in June.

Meanwhile, a new wave of questions regarding existing liability laws has sparked lawsuits, led to the clarification of government policies, and has even prompted Congressional hearings on the treatment of stowaways.

The large number of stowaways arriving from eastern European, African, and South American countries in recent months has become increasingly frustrating to many in the financial departments of commercial shipping companies, due to the strict laws that make those companies responsible for stowaways arriving on their vessels. Although the Immigration and Naturalization Service reports that the number of stowaways has been fairly steady recently, some shippers claim that is not true.

"We unfortunately do not have a handle on the overall numbers, but they seem to be growing," says Bill Summers of the New Jersey-based Sea-Land Service, one of the largest worldwide container shippers. "We only keep track of the ones entering on our ships. Yet we feel the number has been on the rise for the last several years."

"The numbers we have say that the trend has been fairly steady at 800 to 1,000 stowaways entering U.S. ports a year," rebuts Michael Jaromin of the INS. "The carriers say that these figures are low, but they have not been able to show us any hard numbers. We have asked for more information from the maritime industry, but we have not gotten anything back."

The *New York Times* reported that as many as 3,000 to 5,000 stowaways might have tried to enter the U.S. last year by ship, saying the numbers the INS compiled probably "count mainly those who also applied for political asylum."

"People stow away on ships for many different reasons," said Jaromin, an assistant chief inspector at the INS headquarters in Washington. "Of course, for the most part, we can only grant asylum to people requesting it on political grounds. Many would rather go back to their country to try again, because they know they do not have a valid asylum claim."

"Clearly, it's a problem," said another INS

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spokesman in Washington. "It is in our interest and in the carriers' interest to work together to find a solution that works for both of us."

Several cases involving ships entering U.S. ports with aliens aboard have been highlighted in the news of late. In mid-April, 20 stowaways from Romania arrived in the port of Boston on board the containership *OOCL Innovation* (operated by Sea-Land service), which had sailed a week earlier from the port of Le Havre, France—a frequent port of embarkation for stowaways. All 20 stowaways had hidden themselves in a number of containers aboard the vessel. Twelve of the 20 had been able to break out of their containers and were discovered several days into the Atlantic crossing, while eight more remained trapped until the vessel sailed into Boston. All the containers used by the stowaways were owned by Orient Overseas Container Line, which led officials to believe that perhaps the Romanian stowaways were part of a long-suspected smuggling operation out of the port of Le Havre.

"All the containers used by the stowaways were owned by Orient Overseas Container Line, which led officials to believe that perhaps the Romanian stowaways were part of a long-suspected smuggling operation..."

In a frighteningly similar incident that occurred only weeks later, 20 Rumanians and one Bulgarian arrived at the port of Montreal from Le Havre in early May aboard the containership *Can Mar Spirit*, owned by the Canadian company Canada Maritime. Police in Le Havre report that they have since discovered two separate groups of people helping Rumanians to gain access to vessels in exchange for payment of some kind.

"Finding a stowaway in the port is a bit like finding a passenger on a train who has not paid the fare," said a police official in Le Havre. "Rumanians are frequently seen around the port and need only to look at the ship cards to see where a ship is headed." The board of directors at the port of Le Havre has approved a $4.1 million plan to tighten security within the port by installing fences around terminals and putting in place an electronic badge system to limit access to the port.

East coast ports of Canada have reported similar problems with stowaways over the last few years. The number of stowaways arriving at Montreal, Halifax, or other east coast ports of Canada climbed from 100 in 1991 to almost 400 in 1993. However, while shippers in the U.S. claim an increase in stowaways this winter, several in Canada report a slight decrease, with only about 50 arriving in the first three months of this year, compared to 118 during the same period in 1993. That compares to 497 stowaways that arrived in U.S. ports between October and March. Although there are no clear reasons for the drop in stowaways arriving in Canadian ports, officials point to the particularly harsh winter sustained in Canada and tightening of security in eastern European ports. Canadian ports may be a favorite for immigrants due to Canadian immigration law, which allows stowaways who do not show violent tendencies to be released on their own recognizance until an asylum hearing is scheduled. They are also eligible for health care and other national welfare benefits.

At around the same time that the 20 Romanian stowaways arrived in Boston, eight South African citizens arrived at the port of Dunkirk, France, on a German vessel. While it is possible they targeted France as their next home, the case points out the situation stowaways face when sneaking aboard a ship or climbing into a container. The fact that the 20 stowaways discovered aboard the *OOCL Innovation* en route to Boston were found in containers scattered in different places on the deck, only some of which were scheduled for discharge in Boston, indicates that many stowaways have no clue as to their next destination.

Although many stowaways make it to the U.S., are granted asylum hearings, and then are either admitted or repatriated, many more are not so lucky. Three stowaways from Colombia died of asphyxiation and dehydration in a container packed with coffee beans after the container failed to be unloaded in Florida, the ship's first stop. Four men boarded the freighter *Sea Wind* in Buenaventura, Colombia, with an ample supply of cheese, water and crackers for the trip to Florida. However, despite their screams and pounding against the container walls while containers all around them were unloaded in Florida,

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dockworkers did not hear them, and the ship sailed on to Philadelphia. Three of the four men died during that trip, and the one who survived reportedly was only able to do so by drinking his own urine and gouging an air hole in the side of the container. The survivor, along with the bloated bodies of the three dead men, was later flown back to Colombia at the expense of Crowley American Transport, owner of the ship.

A similar case saw three Romanians die in a container on the short trip across the English Channel from Le Havre to Felixstowe, England. Apparently, the container had just been fumigated before the voyage, unbeknownst to its passengers. One man barely survived and was rescued when dockworkers heard him knocking feebly on the container's walls.

Four stowaways from the Pacific island of Fiji died when they jumped off a freighter as it entered Puget Sound in northern Washington in March (*Professional Mariner*, Issue #7). The four men are thought to have jumped into the frigid waters in order to avoid almost certain repatriation upon arriving in Seattle. Although immigration officers met the ship after docking, the four men were not aboard. Their bodies were found several hours later, floating in the 40°F water. They had been contained in a locked cabin after the ship's crew discovered them several days out of Fiji, but they were then able to break out of the cabin without alerting the crew.

Another case involved stowaways from Guyana, who jumped off a grain barge as it entered Tampa Bay last May. Their voyage ended with deportation when the men were picked up by a passing boat.

FIVE MORE STOWAWAYS ESCAPE FROM SEA-LAND

If Sea-Land Service didn't already have enough problems with stowaways, it does now. Five stowaways who were discovered hiding in a container aboard the *Sea-Land Performance* when it arrived in Boston on June 1st have since escaped.

A week later, 11 more stowaways were discovered and detained when the container ship *OOCL Innovation*, operated by Sea-Land Service, docked on June 8th in Boston.

The first five Rumanians, who were interrogated by INS officials in Boston and kept aboard the ship for eventual return to Le Havre, France, where they are believed to have first embarked, were reported missing from their locked room aboard the containership in Port Elizabeth, N.J. several days later. The five men are believed to have escaped, either into the water or onto a pier, on June 4th.

The stowaways indicated when interviewed that they had believed they were boarding a ship headed for a Canadian port.

The second group, also Rumanians, for the most part requested political asylum and were expected to be transported to an INS processing center in New Jersey. They, too, were believed to have been smuggled aboard at the French port of Le Havre.

As to responsibility for stowaways, INS inspector Jaromin reports that it falls entirely in the hands of the ship's operator. "Simply put, our view is that they do not have to give us anything as long as they do not lose the stowaway." However, as the law stands now, the carrier is responsible for care and maintenance while an alien is in the U.S. "If the alien seeks asylum, they get an interview with an asylum officer who hears their claim and makes a decision," Jaromin explains. "If he says yes, then they're in and they eventually get a green card; but if he says no, they can appeal to the board of immigration appeals."

After the board hands down a decision, the case enters the U.S judicial system where it can go all the way to the Supreme Court, provided the alien has the resources to sustain his claim. During this time financial responsibility for housing, feeding and caring for a stowaway falls in the hands of the carrier. "If they lose a stowaway, it's a $3,000 fine," Jaromin says. A criminal charge of conspiring to violate federal law could be tacked onto this fine. Jaromin added that in norma case, the initial phases of processing asylum claims take no less than 60 days.

All shipping companies have obvious concerns about losing stowaways, and these concerns can often lead to almost unreasonable detainment procedures. No federal regulations govern how a private company may detain the aliens, and the use of leg irons and armed guards has led to Congressional hearings into the treatment of stowaways. Although it is not yet clear when the hearings will take place, Congress will examine provisions of U.S. laws that cause carriers to

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resort to such practices in order to maintain custody of stowaways. "The big question in Congress is determining what is an appropriate division of responsibility," said a Congressional aide.

No matter what methods are used, stowaways cannot always be detained, claim some companies. For example, eight Jamaican stowaways escaped from the freighter *Repulse Bay* in Tampa, Fla., despite being detained in a locked hold with a security guard, leg irons and handcuffs. Three Romanian aliens being detained in a New Jersey hotel in leg irons escaped when they were freed of their bonds to shower.

The INS, which has 32 district offices in ports all around the country as well as many smaller "field offices," claims it intends to continue enforcing all laws relevant to stowaways; but there is evidence the INS is beginning to take a more flexible approach to dealing with frustrated shipping companies. In a memo to personnel recently, James Puleo, the executive associate commissioner for INS in Washington, illustrated this new approach. He prefaced his two-page memo by saying, "One of the main criticisms from the industry is the inconsistency among ports of entry on decisions relating to the repatriation of stowaways. Flexibility must be emphasized." Puleo went on to discuss methods of repatriation, commenting that previously INS officials had been stipulating that the stowaway must go back on the ship on which he or she arrived. He pointed out that other unnecessary stipulations included imposing conditions surrounding detention, such as the necessity of an armed guard. "We should recognize that shipowners and operators often have incomplete control over the security of their vessels while in foreign ports," wrote Puleo. "There is no violation on the part of a vessel for bringing a stowaway, absent evidence of collusion."

Some companies have trouble meeting the financial responsibilities and put a lot of pressure on their captains to make sure stowaways do not arrive aboard their ships. In what has become a federal criminal case, the captain of an oceangoing tugboat was charged with attempted second-degree murder for forcing three stowaways from Guyana off the barge he was towing. The tug was several miles off the coast of Jamaica at the time (PM #6).

Shippers complain that they often have no control over how stowaways board their freighters and often cannot find them during extensive predeparture searches. "We are pretty careful about inspecting our containers before they are loaded," reports Sea-Land's Summers. "Although stowaways might get in before a box gets to the port, it usually happens at the port. Every owner or lessor of a box is responsible for inspecting it before it is loaded on a ship." Summers added that he is pleased the issue has been elevated to a "higher profile" recently, and reports that he has been made somewhat optimistic by the fact that as of mid-May, no stowaways had arrived in U.S. ports from Europe in a month. "We hope that is the result of security measures being taken in European ports, such as Le Havre."

Bill Summers says that detaining stowaways for even the shortest time can be a fairly expensive proposition. "It certainly runs into the thousands," explained Summers, "and more, depending on how long the hearings take." Meanwhile, Mike Mahoney of TECO Transportation, based in Tampa, Fla., also estimates that costs—which could include housing, security, medical costs, food, clothing, local transportation and repatriation—can be exorbitant. "I envision easily $10,000 for a stowaway, if you look at all the possible costs." ■

The Dilemma of Government in a Multi-ethnic State

"Free institutions are next to impossible ina country made up of different nationalities. Among a people without fellow-feeling, espcially if they read and speak different langauges, the united public opinion necessary to the working of representative government, cannot exist."

— John Stuart Mill

Considerations on Representative Government (1861)

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Once again the government comes in and decides to assume the costs for the stowaways who are described in the previous article. This item is reprinted with permission from The New York Times.

INS Shifts Its Policy on Stowaways

By Joseph F. Sullivan

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has decided to take custody of stowaways and parole them while their requests for asylum are being reviewed, agency officials said yesterday.

The new policy represents a significant shift for the Federal agency, which had been requiring the owners of planes and ships that inadvertently brought stowaways to the United States to pay the cost of their detention.

The policy was described by Duke Austin, a spokesman for the immigration service in Washington, as temporary while officials decide how to respond to a June ruling by a Federal appeals court, which struck down the system under which stowaways were the responsibility of the ship or airplane carriers.

The Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in Philadelphia ruled that the old policy had not been properly adopted by the immigration service, lacked guidelines and made the shipping and airline companies liable for unlimited costs of detention.

Rethinking an Old Policy

Although the court decision only affected cases in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and the Virgin Islands, its practical effect had been to force the immigration service to rethink the old policy, Mr. Austin said. The new interim system will be in effect until the immigration service decides what its long-term approach will be and then subjects its proposal to public hearings and formal approvals — a process that could take months.

Unlike illegal aliens who manage to enter the United States and are picked up after they have been in the country for a time, stowaways and other illegal aliens intercepted at ports of entry have been treated as if they never arrived, said Nicholas Rizza, national refugee coordinator for Amnesty International. Owners of ships and airplanes not only had to pay the cost of detaining the stowaways, but were also responsible for their care. The companies and their security contractors were not subjected to Federal supervision or required to adhere to international standards of treatment.

The stowaways were not granted the constitutional rights given an illegal alien picked up on the street, including the right to bail or to be released on their own recognizance, Mr. Rizza said.

In one recent case, through which the immigration service's policy came to national attention, more than 20 stowaways from Romania, who arrived in Boston by hiding in huge metal cargo containers loaded onto a freighter in France, were held for several weeks in April by a shipping company in hotels in Newark, shackled together by leg irons.

The new policy, which allows stowaways seeking asylum to be paroled, brings their treatment closer to that of other illegal aliens, Mr. Rizza said.

"The new policy represents a significant shift for the [INS] which had been requiring the owners of ships and planes... to pay the cost of detention [of stowaways]."

Mr. Austin, the immigration service's spokesman, said the agency lacks the capacity to monitor the stowaways once they are released, so they will essentially be at large while their requests for asylum are being adjudicated, under the new guidelines that were sent to all field offices last week. The new policy was disclosed yesterday by the Journal of Commerce.

"If the stowaways' asylum requests and subsequent appeals are turned down, we will have to round

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the people up and return them to the carriers for deportation back home," Mr. Austin said. "The carriers are still responsible for the costs from that point on."

Stowaways who do not request asylum will be immediately handed back to the shipping and airline companies for the trip home. The companies have long been held responsible for returning stowaways who are not granted asylum, under a Federal policy designed to assure that transportation companies were vigilant against stowaways.

The court decision in June came on an appeal by Dia, a Cyprus-based corporation that discovered it had brought four Romanian stowaways into United States waters in February 1992 aboard a freighter, the *European Senator*. After the ship arrived in Newark the stowaways requested asylum. Because Dia was responsible for the stowaways detention, it decided to to keep them under 24-hour watch at a Holiday Inn on Staten Island.

Eventually, two of the stowaways were granted asylum and two were deported and flown back to Romania at Dia's expense. The company said it spent $127,590 on detention-related expenses over 54 days, and it sued the INS in Federal court in Newark.

After the condition of more than 20 shackled Romanian stowaways became known last spring, the company responsible for their detention, SeaLand Service, appealed to the immigration service, which ultimately arranged for them to be transferred to the Snyder County jail in Pennsylvania. This week, the immigration service took charge of them and other stowaways being detained by carriers, and arranged for their parole hearings. ■

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT On-Line

The text of **THE SOCIAL CONTRACT** is now available on-line. We've put together this help sheet to answer some questions.

Q. How do I access the bulletin board?
A. First, you need a computer that is connected to a modem that is at least 2400 baud. Set your communications program to the following modem settings:

Baud: 2400; Parity: None; Data Bits: 8; Stop Bits: 1; Local Echo: Off.

The bulletin board telephone number is (616) 347-2716. When you call in, the system will ask for your log-in name. Use **HSDEBATE**. Your password is **CONTRACT**. You will then be connected to the system.

Q. Can I get a listing of all the files available?
A. Yes. The table of contents for each issue has been modified to include the filenames of the articles, as well as the authors and article titles. Downloading the table of contents for each issue will give you a listing of all the files available.

Q. I'm looking for articles on a specific topic; is there a way to search for just one topic?
A. Sorry. At this time our bulletin board will not let us search by key word. You will have to use the table of contents to get a list of the articles.

Q. When I call into the bulletin board, everything is doubled, like this: WWeellccoommee ttoo tthhee UUSS BBBBSS.
A. You have to set your local echo to ON. In other words, you are in HALF duplex. Set your local echo to OFF, or set your duplex to FULL.

Q. There are garbage characters on the screen when I call in.
A. You have probably connected at a speed other than the 2400 baud. Try setting the baud rate to 2400.

If you have other specific questions about the articles, or problems accessing the equipment, please call our main office at (616) 347-1171. Thank you!

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We continue our reporting on the key jobs factor in migration pressure. This article is reprinted from the May 1994 issue of Populi, *a publication of the UN Population Fund.*

The Long-Term Job Crunch

Report from the ILO (International Labor Organization)

We are going through the worst employment crisis since the great depression of the 1930s, according to this year's *World Labor Report* from the International Labor Organization (ILO).

Some three in ten of the world's workers were unemployed or underemployed at the end of last year, according to the report. At least 120 million were registered unemployed, but the real number is likely to have been much higher. Another 700 million were underemployed, meaning they were unable to earn enough to reach the minimum standard of living.

The employment crisis is not seasonal; it is structural. As ILO Director Michel Hansenne puts it: "For the first time since the great depression, the industrialized nations, as well as developing nations, are facing long-term persistent unemployment."

The report adds: "An average of over 43 million job seekers, most of them in developing economies, are being added to the worldwide labor force annually, and this against the backdrop of unprecedentedly high levels of unemployment and underemployment."

At the same time, those who have jobs have seen their working conditions and standard of living deteriorate. According to the ILO report, average world per capita income fell again last year, for the fourth year in a row.

Industrialized market economies saw "very slow growth," the report explains. Since these wealthy countries accounted for about three-fourths of the world's monetary gross domestic product, their misfortunes were handed down to the developing world through falling demand and lower commodity prices.

"The downward trend in employment conditions persisted in much of the world," according to the report. "Outside East and Southeast Asia, to the extent that employment levels were sustained, it was usually at the price of falling wages. Where employment deteriorated, the risk of job loss persisted, young people found it more and more difficult to get jobs, and more people became self-employed in urban areas."

ILO attributes the long-term high unemployment to two trends. First, jobs have been rendered obsolete by rapid technological change — for example, the rise of robotics in automobile and other manufacturing plants. Second: the rapid movement of manufacturing capacity, capital, and people in the global economy means workers in any given country now face unprecedented competition and insecurity.

Increased unemployment has also followed the switch to capitalism in a number of countries. Says Hansenne: "Workers have had to bear a disproportionate amount of the burden that many nations have endured as they have advanced toward free markets economies." In the former Soviet Union, women — who had close to the employment and wage rates of men under the Soviets — have been particularly hard hit.

The report also describes the rise in informal or "underground" work, mainly in cities, and the increasing participation of women in formal and informal workforces.

The cities of sub-Saharan Africa, for example, have seen population growth rates of six to eight percent a year, thanks in large part to migration from the surrounding countryside. As the cities have become bloated, the informal sector has grown, and now accounts for some 40 percent of all employment, up from zero percent some 30 years ago. Since 1975, per capita incomes have fallen by 50-70 percent.

In Africa and Latin America, female workforce participation rates have risen as women take up jobs, mostly in the informal sector, in a bid to keep their families' incomes from slipping below the poverty line.

In industrialized countries as in the developing world, however, women continue to earn less for work equal to that done by men; their economic contributions are undervalued in national accounts; and they are generally limited to part-time work. ■

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The Impact of Immigration on the Social Security System

By Donald Huddle and David Simcox

[*Synopsis: In 1992, the estimated deficit of the entire Social Security System attributable to the foreign born was $2.7 billion (i.e., payments the foreign born paid to and received from the system). Also in 1992, there was an estimated surplus of $19.0 billion for the native born population. During the 1993-2002 decade, the $2.7 billion annual deficit attributable to the current stock of immigrants is projected to grow by about one percent annually in present value terms, reaching $2.98 billion yearly in 2002. The ten-year deficit for the 1993-2002 decade would amount to nearly $30.0 billion in 1993 dollars. In policy terms, the addition of large numbers of less skilled foreign workers to the labor force (which will occur if there is no change in immigration law or enforcement policy) in the hope of bolstering the solvency of the Social Security System would in fact have the opposite effect.*]

Introduction

This study examines the entire foreign-born population and the legal immigrant, illegal alien and amnesty alien sub-populations separately in order to calculate the current Social Security balance (a deficit) between contributions paid and benefits received. The ultimate costs to the system of post-1970 immigration, which can only be fully assessed after individuals reach retirement a variable number of years into the future, are also estimated.

The method of the study involves: 1) calculating from the 1990 census the total Social Security benefits received by the foreign-born population in 1989, then adjusting the data for the year 1992; and 2) determining the total payments of the foreign-born into the Social Security System for 1992.

The difference between contributions paid and benefits received determines whether the participation of the foreign-born in the Social Security System increased or diminished the total public assistance and displacement cost deficit of $42.5 billion which was found in a separate analysis of 1992 alien public assistance, transfer payments, and services use (Huddle, 1993).

Findings: Current Contributions Paid and Benefits Received by the Foreign-Born Population

I. *1992 Social Security Benefits Received by the Foreign Born*

Data from a one-percent survey (Foreign Born, 1993) of the U.S. population 15 years old and more in the 1990 census shows that:

- 2.08 million foreign-born persons age 62 and over received payments for old age, survivors or disability insurance totaling $12,554 billion, an average of $6027 annually per recipient.
- 242,800 foreign-born persons ages 15-61 received benefits totaling $993.7 million, an average of $4092 per person.
- total benefit payments in 1989 to the foreign born 15 years of age or over totalled $13,548 billion, adjusted by the (1985-1989) 5.8% annual rise in the Consumer Price Index (CPI) to an estimated $16.044 billion in 1992 (U.S. Census, 1993, p. 357).
- 65% of the foreign born age 62 or greater receive Social Security benefits, compared to 78.5% of the comparable native-born population. Average payments to the foreign born were slightly higher (by 0.4%) than those to the native born.

II. *1992 Contributions of the Foreign Born to Social Security*

All the nation's covered workers and employers

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contributed a total of $382.0 billion in payroll taxes to the Social Security System in 1992 (U.S. Census, 1993, p. 316).

The entire foreign-born population in 1992 was estimated at 21.16 million. The respective shares of the total contribution are estimated for each of the following immigrant sub-populations:

A) all legal immigrants, including those naturalized — a population estimated at 16.24 million in 1992;
B) all illegal immigrants, numbering 4.8 million in 1992;
C) all amnesty, or "legalized," aliens totalling 2.52 million in 1992.

A. The Legal Immigrants' Contribution. Legal immigrants comprise the largest subpopulation of the foreign born. They are also the highest earning group and the most likely to disclose their full earnings and comply with tax rules, as a smaller proportion works in the underground economy compared to the illegal and amnestied aliens.

"While legal immigrants' contributions are low compared to the national average, they must be further adjusted downward..."

The study of the impact of immigrants on Los Angeles County (Impact, 1992) found that the legal immigrant population contributed $929 per capita to Social Security. Note that this is a per capita figure, not a figure per worker actually covered. Applying the national coverage percentage (53.0% of the population in 1992), 8.72 million legal immigrants would have been covered by Social Security and have contributed a total of $15.093 billion in 1992. Their per capita annual contribution counting both employer and employee shares of the $15.3% payroll tax would have been $1731. That annual contribution implies an average taxable annual wage of $11,314. The per capita annual contribution of all covered workers in the nation, in contrast, is $2961, implying an annual average taxable earning of $19,335.

While legal immigrants' contributions are low compared to the national average, they must be further adjusted downward for the following considerations:

- Downward adjustment of estimated contributions: The contributions that would have been paid by the working unskilled native born displaced or whose wages were depressed by legal immigrants are an offset to immigrant contributions. Every 100 low-skill legal immigrants in the workplace in 1992 are thought to displace 15.5 low-skill U.S. workers. (Huddle, 1993) and/or depress the wages of the native born by a similar amount (Altonji & Card, 1991). Accordingly, the total contribution is reduced by 15.5%.

Moreover, the Los Angeles study incorrectly assumes that the worker pays the entire payroll tax of 15.3% because the employer lowers the worker's real wage to cover his contribution. But various studies have shown that less than half the payroll tax is shifted to the worker (Ehrenburg and Smith, 1991, pp 74-75 and Note 1). To estimate conservatively, it is assumed here that fully half of the payroll tax is shifted to the worker, making his effective contribution 11.45% of earnings. The required adjustment further reduces the subpopulation's total effective contribution to Social Security by 18.8 percent (Impact, 1993).

These two adjustments reduce the contribution of the legal immigrant subpopulation by 34.3% to $9.91 billion.

B. Amnesty Aliens' Contribution. The Los Angeles County Study found that amnestied aliens contributed $874 per capita to the Social Security fund. Imputing this contribution to 2.52 million amnestied aliens yields a gross 1992 contribution to Social Security of $2.202 billion. An estimated 1.36 million amnesty aliens actually covered would pay per capita Social Security taxes of $1619, implying an average individual taxable wage of $10,583 per year — 54.7% of the national average taxable wage.

The same adjustment is applied to amnestied aliens' Social Security contributions as to those of legal immigrants. (The adjustment factor to compensate for displacement of U.S. workers rises from 15.5% to 20.0% because of the larger proportion of low-skill workers among the amnesty ranks and their greater displacing effect.) The downward adjustments for tax-shifting, 18.8%, is unchanged.

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After adjustment, the net tax payment of this group to Social Security would be $1.48 billion.

C. Illegal Aliens' Contribution. According to the Los Angeles County Study, illegal aliens on average paid $485 per capita into Social Security. The total for the nation's estimated 4.8 million illegals in 1992 would be $2.327 billion. Adjustment factor for illegals is the same as that for amnesty aliens, yielding a total contribution to the fund of $1.51 billion.

If national coverage rates apply, 2.58 million illegal aliens would be covered by Social Security, contributing an annual average of $902. The implied annual taxable wage of $5895 is markedly lower (44.3%) than that of the amnesty population, many of whose characteristics they share. The difference may be due to substantial non-compliance by illegal workers or their employers with payroll tax requirements. According to a review, of employment surveys by immigration researcher David North (1989), 44% of illegal aliens had received some wage payments in cash, compared to 17% of legal aliens, suggesting nonpayment of payroll and other taxes.

Note that the imputed annual wage for the three populations represents only the portion of their wage and salary income subject to F.I.C.A. tax. Nonwage and salary income and unreported wage and salary income are not calculated.

III. *Balance of Benefits Paid to Immigrants and Contributions Paid by Immigrants to Social Security*

Total contributions of the foreign born to Social Security, after adjustment, were $13.34 billion in 1992; Old Age, Survivor and Disability Benefits (OASDI) paid to foreign-born persons were $16.04 billion. Thus, the estimated deficit of the entire Social Security System attributable to the foreign born in 1992 was $2.7 billion.

For comparison, total contributions of the native born to Social Security OASDI in 1992 were $292.0 billion, and total benefits they received were $273.0 billion. The surplus for the native born was thus $19.0 billion.

During the 1993-2002 decade, the $2.7 billion annual deficit attributable to the current stock of immigrants is projected to grow by about one percent annually in present value terms, reaching $2.98 billion yearly by 2002. The cumulative ten-year deficit would amount to nearly $30.0 billion in 1993 dollars.

IV. *Higher Returns to Low-Income Contributors*

The relative weakness of aliens' Social Security contribution record is an indication of the significantly greater proportion of low earners in the foreign-born population than among the native born. All immigrants in 1992 contributed only 5.1% of total Social Security contributions, but they constituted 8.4% of the population. Per capita gross payroll taxes of covered immigrant workers, before adjustment for displacement, tax shifting, or earned income tax credit grants, were $1712. The comparable figure for native-born workers was $2448. The lower-than-average earnings and contributions of the current stock of immigrants explains in part why current and future influxes of low-income workers are likely to drain the Social Security System rather than "save" it, as some (Bartley, 1993) would contend.

The progressivity of Social Security benefits is an important factor here. "Replacement rates," the percentage of average working income to be received after retirement, are set by law as follows:

Earning Levels	*Benefit Levels*
Low earners (43% of national average wage)	58.3%
Average earners (100% of average wage)	42.7%
Maximum earner (max. taxable wage - $51,300)	24.0%

Under this formula, the low earner in 1990 would have received $5.41 yearly in retirement benefits for each one dollar of average annual contribution. The average earner would receive $3.96 yearly for every dollar of average annual contribution. The maximum earner would receive benefits of only $2.22 for every dollar in his yearly pay-in (U.S. House, 1991, p. 46).

V. *Earned Income Tax Credit Liabilities*

Low earning workers with children, and with less than $22,370 earned income, are eligible for Earned Income Tax Credits that can offset or often exceed their contributions in payroll taxes. In 1992, a working family of two adults with two children with an earned income of $16,950 received from the Treasury basic refundable tax and health insurance credits totaling $949. The statistics in Table 1 are the earned income tax credits obtainable by the three immigrant subpopulations at the earnings levels

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revealed by their Social Security contributions, assuming two children per working family.

VI *Recovery of Benefits through Taxation*

The Social Security fund now earns $3 billion to $6 billion a year from income taxes on Social Security income of medium to high income Americans. The effective tax burden runs from 1.2% of Social Security income of beneficiaries with total annual incomes of $30,000 to 15.0% of incomes of beneficiaries above $100,000. Beneficiaries with total incomes of $25,000 or less are not subject to tax of their Social Security benefits.

TABLE 1

Social Security Contributions and Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) Entitlements of Three Immigrant Sub-Populations (Soc. Sec. contributions based on 11.48% of earnings)

	Legal Immigrants	Amnesty Aliens	Illegal Aliens
Average Social Security Earnings	$11314	$10583	$5895
Social Security Contributions	$1298	$1214	$677
Basic Tax and Health Insurance Credit (EITC)	$1640	$1835	$1437

Source: U.S. Internal Revenue Service, Publication 596.

The addition of large numbers of foreign workers to the work force in the hope of enriching the Social Security System, as some have urged, would, in fact, be counterproductive. The additional payroll taxes would be modest and, in the case of families with children which earn less than $18,000, would be largely offset by refundable earned income tax credits and higher revenue losses from displacement of native-born workers. While immigrants have more children who will become contributors than the native born, it cannot be assumed that the children will be higher earners than their parents. Current immigration policy alters the skill endowment of the labor force for this generation and the next two (Borjas, 1993).

At the same time, assuming (no change in immigration law or enforcement policy and thus) a continuation of large-scale, unselective immigration, the system would acquire a disproportionate liability for benefits for today's low earning immigrants in the second decade of the next century, at the same time as the current surplus in the fund will be running out.

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Garrett Hardin is professor emeritus of human biology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His latest book, Living Within Limits: Ecology, Economics and Population Taboos *(Oxford University Press, 1993) received the Phi Beta Kappa Science Award for 1993. The essay below was given as an address to the National Association of Biology Teachers at its convention in Houston, Texas on November 10, 1990.*

Perpetual Growth

The Next Dragon Facing Biology Teachers

by Garrett Hardin

I write this article within a tradition established by Theodosius Dobzhansky. In 1973 he told the National Association of Biology Teachers that, "Nothing in biology makes sense except in the light of evolution." The vast majority of biologists agree with Dobzhansky. He reminded us that evolution through natural selection was so all-encompassing a process that biologists should not, merely for the sake of momentary peace, draw back from defending Darwin's vision.

The principal opponents to evolution have been members of certain religions. The objectors have been only a small fraction of the total religious population, but they have been very vocal. Their indignant outcries have now dropped to a low level of decibels. Still, in many communities, it takes considerable courage to be a good biology teacher.

Now on the horizon is another conflict that is also, in a deep sense, a religious one. This is the conflict over growth. The idea of perpetual growth is embraced with religious fervor by mainstream economists and other worshipers of "Progress" — the material sort of progress, that is. Two decades ago Walter Heller, then chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said, "I cannot conceive a successful economy without growth." This was, and is, the majority opinion of economists. In the same category is an aphorism of one of the Rothschilds who said that, "Compound interest is the eighth wonder of the world." He implied that the exponential growth of money-at-interest creates actual physical wealth. This belief is defended with religious fervor by most economists, despite the fact that the physicist Frederick Soddy showed that money-at-interest creates only a negotiable demand on wealth, not wealth itself.

On paper, a bank account can be made to grow forever, without limit. But does this mean that material wealth also grows without limit? Not so, said Aristotle, because "Money is sterile." Two thousand years later we are the prisoners of an economic system built on the assumption that money is limitlessly fertile. Fortunately a few economists are calling for a revitalization of the Aristotelian insight, notably Kenneth E. Boulding and Herman E. Daly. Professor Boulding has remarked that, "Anyone who believes exponential growth can go on forever in a finite world is either a madman or an economist." Boulding has earned the right to be blunt: he is an eminent enough economist to have served a term as president of the American Economics Association. Most economists probably wish he had not given voice to so harsh a home truth, but his view is gaining support in the profession.

Our students are society's next generation-in-power. We owe it to them, to society at large, and to posterity to help students build their expectations on a realistic basis. Exponential growth needs to be seen as a severely time-limited process, for which costs must be paid. Growth is ultimately limited by the environment, a truth that ecologists encapsulate in the concept of "carrying capacity."

This concept is an absolute necessity for honest ecological accounting; yet several economists have, with little contradiction by their fellows, called it a "meaningless concept." To make such an assertion is as bizarre as if an accountant were to say that balancing the books is a meaningless procedure. In evaluating the annual report of a business concern one looks for "the bottom line." Carrying capacity is the bottom line of ecological accounting. Like the laws of thermodynamics, carrying capacity is part of the *conservative* structure of science. We need to uncover the reasons for the strange reluctance of economists to

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admit this form of conservatism into their discipline. A society that pays attention to economists needs economists who pay attention to reality.

We will gain in perspective, as well as in humility, if we keep in mind that conservation principles come down to us from classical Greece. They were first explicitly recognized by Epicurus back in 3rd century B.C. The language quoted below is a far cry from the "sound bites" of present-day television, but the ancient Greeks did not labor under our curse of an information-overload. They had time to savor the cuisine of information.

> *Nothing is created out of that which does not exist; for if it were, everything would be created out of everything with no need of seeds. And again, if that which disappears were destroyed into that which did not exist, all things would have perished, since that into which they were dissolved would not exist.*

Three unhurried readings of that passage should convince you that it can fairly be converted to this short sound bite: "Nothing material can be either created out of nothing, or annihilated into nothing." A multitude of conversions are possible: coal and air into dry ice, for instance, or plutonium into smaller atoms plus energy. But, in our experience, there is never either true creation or true annihilation. (The problem of the one-time origin of the universe, many billions of years in the past, is really beyond science's purview.) In real time — *our* time — Epicurean conservation rules.

The Epicurean attitude implicitly guided investigators of "natural philosophy" (an antique name for science) for two millennia. It was not until the 19th century that the attitude was explicitly stipulated, In the physical sciences, the stipulations asserted the conservation of matter and the laws of thermodynamics. In biology, the most wide-ranging practical consequences followed from the denial of spontaneous generation.

Whenever a tacit understanding is converted into words it provokes a denial. The denial of conservation principles began in the 19th century. There developed an infectious belief that there are no real limits, that (as a song popular in the 20th century put the matter), "wishing will make it so." It was not science itself that created this new mythology, but the laity's understandable wonder at the apparent miracles being generated by technology. Such marvels as the telephone and the airplane, though foreseen by science-fiction writers, were viewed as impossibilities by many respected scientists until late in the 19th century. Nuclear energy was a complete surprise. The rapid development of these and many other inventions in the 20th century made it easy to accept the idea of limitless growth.

Malthus's population theory, born on the threshold of the 19th century, was an essentially Epicurean doctrine. His presumed limit, "subsistence," was essentially the sort of limit that had been taken for granted for millennia. Malthus had the professional misfortune to plug the idea of limits into his theory at a time when the technological advances were increasing the *realized* carrying capacity of the environment faster than human population itself was growing. No wonder limit-accepting theorists like Malthus were soon taunted with the children's story, "Chicken Little." That chicken, remember, was the one who said, "The sky is falling! The sky is falling!" Only it didn't fall.

At the present time the public dispute between "Cornucopians" and "Doomsayers" is not resolved. (The name of each group is contributed by the opponents, of course.) Malthusian Doomsayers will admit this: "Chicken Little is wrong every time — *except the last time.*" This admission comes easily to an Epicurean. On the other hand, growth-minded economists think Chicken Little is never right. They conveniently forget that civilizations before ours have perished.

The present argument is concerned with why most economists are Cornucopians, and why they are wrong. But before taking up these points we need to be sure we understand the meaning of "carrying capacity," in both human and nonhuman contexts.

As concerns domestic herds and wild game populations, the idea of carrying capacity is fairly simple: the carrying capacity of a territory is the maximum number of animals that can be supported for an extended time without degradation of the environment.

Transgression of the carrying capacity of a defined territory results in lowering its capacity in subsequent periods. For example, overgrazing a pasture causes loss of soil and replacement of sweet grass by weeds. Unless the impact of population on the environment is quickly reduced, such degradation

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escalates with time. Because of unpredictable secular changes and fluctuations in climate, prudence dictates that the carrying capacity figure adopted by policy should be safely below any momentary carrying capacity. This imperative is spelled out in what has been called the Eleventh Commandment of Ecology: *"Thou shalt not transgress the carrying capacity."*

When we apply this principle to human beings we encounter a new factor (which helps explain the economists'reluctance to accept the principle): this is the "quality of life" issue. Consider: Bangladesh has a population of 115 million people living in an area the size of the state of Iowa (which has a population of only 3 million). In terms of its ability to produce subsistence, Bangladesh is *not* a poor country. Its alluvial soil is as rich as Iowa's glaciated land, and it can grow three crops a year instead of only one. But Bangladesh is not rich enough to support a population 38 times as great as Iowa's in anything approaching *dignity*. Bluntly put, Bangladesh is overpopulated.

Would Americans consent to live in a population as dense as Bangladesh's if it meant living the way the Bangladeshi live? Not likely. We oppose high densities of population because we realize that carrying capacity has an inverse relationship to the quality of life: the richer the life aimed for, the lower is the carrying capacity of a territory. The material culture presumed helps determine the carrying capacity.

Rich people can afford to heat the space they live in; poor people must make do with warm clothing alone. Demanding the pleasant luxury of space heating reduces the carrying capacity of a territory. We should therefore, when dealing with human populations, specify the *cultural carrying capacity* of a territory.

Now we see why economists have such a distaste for the topic of carrying capacity. For more than a century academic economics has been trying to purge itself of "value judgments." But every commitment to a specific cultural carrying capacity inevitably presupposes a wealth of value judgments. Those who want to live in warm houses value individual comfort above the maximum number of people. A diet rich in meat supports a smaller population than an all-vegetable diet. What shall we choose?

The thrust of most such judgments can be expressed in terms of energy. An adult. living a moderately active life, requires about 2300 kilocalories of food per day. The calories required for all the other "goods" of life — clothing, shelter, artificial lighting, vacation trips, education, movies, television, horse racing and other forms of recreation — amount to a great deal more. The average American consumes one hundred times as much energy in nonfood uses as he consumes in the form of food. Obviously the cultural carrying capacity of our land, assuming our sort of life, is much less than it would be for people living the life of the average Bangladeshi. At times, some of us become a bit ashamed of our "wasteful" way of life; but when push comes to shove, few Americans would be willing to settle for Bangladeshi standards.

"The richer the life aimed for, the lower the carrying capacity of a territory. The material culture presumed helps determine the carrying capacity."

One's reaction to the ethical problem of the distribution of wealth and income is affected by one's view of the phenomena of growth. Many economists think we can sidestep the problem of devising an acceptable theory of the distribution of wealth by simply allowing perpetual economic growth to take place. "A rising tide floats all ships," they say, conveniently forgetting that the ebb of tides is as certain as the rising of them. (The public rewards optimists; it punishes *and ignores* pessimists.) Economists gain additional "Brownie points" with their "trickle-down theory" for dealing with poverty. Make the rich richer, they say, and the poor will have more crumbs to pick up.

Biologists, better than most academics, know that the exponential increase of any material measure is only a momentary fact. Without presuming to solve all the problems of economics and sociology, biologists must insist that perpetual growth is impossible. In a finite world — and that is the only world that is practically available to *Homo sapiens* — no material element of a system can increase exponentially forever. In any subsystem the trickling finally stops as the tide of growth reverses. Then, if not before, the problem of the optimum distribution

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must be faced. After 3,000 years of trying, professional ethicists have yet to describe a satisfactory solution to the highly emotional problem of the distribution of wealth and income. Economists should be able to make significant contributions to this problem, but they cannot do so as long as they shrink from making value judgments.

The command "Grow or die!" is a popular bit of folk-economics. Consider what would face a human being at age 18 if nature followed this command. Either the young person would have to die at that point, or he or she would have to continue growing for another 50 or more years. If a man or a woman grew at the rate that characterizes the adolescent years, what a mountain of flesh the undertaker would have to deal with when death finally entered the scene! The worshipers of perpetual growth seldom spell out its ultimate consequences, being satisfied with its proximate effects, which are sometimes aesthetically attractive.

"To persuade people to give up perpetual growth we must show them that nongrowth can also be beautiful."

It is often casually assumed that science and aesthetics are completely separable disciplines. Darwin knew better. His *Origin of Species* focuses primarily on the facts, but he recognized that these were not enough to persuade the skeptical. The last three paragraphs of his book are particularly revealing. He admits that there is a "war of nature," and yet, he says, "from famine and death" the "most exalted forms of life" have evolved. He argues that the evolutionary view of life is at least as beautiful as the special creation view.

Perpetual growth, like special creation, is an aesthetically seductive notion. To persuade people to give up perpetual growth we must show them that nongrowth can also be beautiful. *Nongrowth is not synonymous with stagnation.* In the life of an individual, the vigorous bodily growth of the first two decades of life gives way to a steady-state metabolism. What we ordinarily judge to be the "productive" years of human life occur *after* the growth in mass has stopped. Growth in skills, in intelligence, and in civilization are possible to individuals, *and to societies*, after growth in mass is at an end. Even at the purely physiological level there are beauties in the steady state, as the exquisite writings of Sir Charles Sherrington demonstrate. Unfortunately, steady-state economics has yet to find its Sherrington.

Well, biologists are not responsible for reforming economics. But the subject matter of ecology overlaps the subject matter of economics. The names of both are derived from the Greek root, *oikos*, meaning house or home. Ecology deals with the interactions of *all* the animals and plants with their environment — the Earth — our home. Economics concentrates on the interactions of the members of one species only, man. Economic processes take place within an ecological nexus, of which too many economists are unaware. We biologists can argue that economics is but a small branch of ecology; but we should not wait around for economists to agree with us! However, it is worth noting that in 1989 a new professional journal was established under the name of *Ecological Economics*. It is staffed mostly by economists. This is a most hopeful sign.

More and more high schools are adding an economics course to the curriculum. Inertia in the educational system insures that the training of high school economics teachers will, for some time to come, be mostly of the older, non-ecological sort. Textbooks will also lag. Faced with this unfortunate situation, conscientious biology teachers have two courses to choose from. They can complain about the backwardness of high school economics; or they can engage in dialogues with their economics colleagues, either directly or through the students they share.

Without demanding that students commit themselves to one view or another, biologists can ask them to list the different consequences that follow from the contrasting views that unlimited growth is (a) possible, or (b) impossible. Those who believe in the possibility of perpetual growth see no need for the concept of carrying capacity. To them, the conservation of resources may seem rather silly, because tomorrow (it is thought) we will discover acceptable substitutes and new sources of energy — *forever.*

Biologists can point to situations in which resources are clearly limiting. A culture of yeast in grape juice produces the waste product, alcohol,

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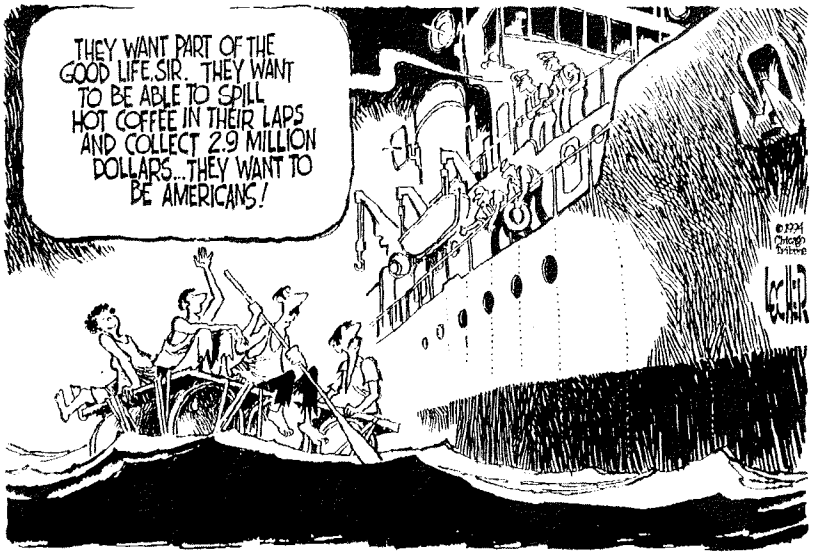
which eventually kills most of the yeast cells. Is the production of smog by automobiles, the number of which is proportionate to the human population, so very different? It is true, of course, that improvements in technology can postpone the evil day when smog might put an end to the system; but what happens if the human population grows without limit? Can improvements in technology also take place without limit? Can you prove it? Interesting questions, these!

Some of society's most endearing traits are connected with the belief in perpetual growth. Because sharing gives pleasure, a poem was placed in the Statue of Liberty inviting the tired, the poor and the homeless to come to us from foreign shores. At the time those lines were written, America's frontier still seemed boundless; but where is the unoccupied space now? Can America — can any country — absorb an unlimited number of immigrants? And now that our own homeless are increasing in numbers, are we being kind to our own people — and to our grandchildren — when we invite more homeless to come in?

Or if we reject that option, should we send food to the starving in other countries? We can certainly feed 50,000 starving people with our surplus: what about 50 million? Or a billion? The number of the world's needy seems to be growing without limit: can the productivity of our farms also grow without limit? Is the amount of our topsoil now increasing or decreasing?

To some people questions like these may seem far from the proper subject of biology; but since human beings are members of the animal kingdom, biologists have something to say about such questions (even if more than biology is required for complete answers). Such questions are interdisciplinary, and biology is one of the disciplines needed to work out the answers. Admittedly, asking interdisciplinary questions starts controversies, but if the controversies are handled tactfully they can greatly augment the impact of the subject of biology on the mind of the student.

It seems very probable that we are moving into a period of history when limits of many sorts will affect society more and more. biology teachers have a rare opportunity to prepare students for the trials of character that will soon confront everyone in our society. We must convince students that unlimited exponential growth of any material thing is not possible. We must reject the mythology of perpetual growth that grew out of the fantastic technological developments of the past two centuries. We must commit ourselves once more to the Epicurean common sense of conservation principles. If we are truly competent as teachers we should be able to persuade the next generation that the secret of living a good life is learning to live within limits. ■


THEY WANT PART OF THE GOOD LIFE, SIR. THEY WANT TO BE ABLE TO SPILL HOT COFFEE IN THEIR LAPS AND COLLECT 2.9 MILLION DOLLARS...THEY WANT TO BE AMERICANS!

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Mark Wegierski reviews two books about Canada, The Patriot Game *by Peter Brimelow and* Constitutional Crack-Up *by William Gairdner. Mr. Wegierski, a previous contributor, is a Toronto-based writer, historian and permanent associate of the Canadian-Polish Research Institute.*

Canada Dissolving?

Books Reviewed by Mark Wegierski

THE PATRIOT GAME: CANADA AND THE CANADIAN QUESTION REVISITED
By Peter Brimelow
Toronto: Key Porter Books
310 pages, $17.95 paper

CONSTITUTIONAL CRACK-UP: CANADA AND THE COMING SHOWDOWN WITH QUEBEC
By William Gairdner
Toronto: Stoddard Publishing
122 pages, $9.95 paper

Peter Brimelow, a Senior Editor at *National Review* and *Forbes*, a high-level journalist, political and economic writer, who had previously lived in Canada, has now lived in the United States for many years. This might tell us something about the configuration of Canadian public life in regard to those who are professedly right-of-center. The book's original edition came out in 1986, and the updated edition being reviewed here (which differs very little from the first) in 1988. It is high time for a third edition — now that the Quebec separatist party has won the election in Quebec by almost double the number of seats over its main rivals, the Liberals (although, because of the vagaries of the "first-past-the-post" riding system, the Parti Québécois actually received only half-a-percentage more of the popular vote). It will now be working assiduously along with the Bloc Québécois, which won 54 seats in the federal House of Commons in the October 1993 election, to win the referendum on sovereignty for Quebec, expected in eight to ten months.

In "A Note from the Author" (p. 1-2), Brimelow states his objective to "present a sort of General Theory of Canada." Brimelow's explicit model is Goldwin Smith's 1891 book, *Canada and the Canadian Question*. Brimelow has imbibed from his mentor a pro-American, "unity of the English-speaking world" approach. He disparages what is called Canadian Nationalism today, while remaining supportive of English-Canadian identity, but also recognizing the virtual inevitability of the emergence of a French-speaking, Québécois state in North America.

Brimelow's main complaint appears to be Canada's economic underperformance. This is followed by his central points: Canada is a state, not a nation; "Quebec is emerging as a genuine nation-state"; "all of Anglophone Canada is essentially part of a greater English-speaking North American nation"; "Canada's political system is badly designed ... [this has] facilitated the growth of an unusually large and powerful political class ... [which] has developed ... a 'dominant ideology' rationalizing and justifying its power ... imposing it as the Canadian conventional wisdom ... an important radical mutation of the Liberal Ideology is Canadian Nationalism, 'the patriot game'"; and finally, that "Canadian politics are surprisingly volatile."

The rest of the book is divided into three parts. The first part "Canada and the Canadian Question Revisited," begins with "The Canadian Question," where English-Canadian identity is defended: "English Canada's British heritage has been systematically subverted ... in Canada today, it is the Anglophones and not the Francophones who are the colonized group" (p. 16). The vehicle for this destruction is what Brimelow calls "Canadian Nationalism" — which, to the reviewer, however, is an incorrectly-conceived villain, arising out of Brimelow's Americanophilia. The next chapter "'A Hybrid, Bicultural Monstrosity'" (actually a quote from René Lévesque, the prominent Quebec separatist leader), begins Brimelow's ongoing criticism of the current Canadian State, and one of its cardinal policies, bilingualism. The following chapter, "The World the Liberals Made", explains how, in the Twentieth Century, the Liberal Party of Canada, by combining, in the federal House of Commons, a minority of

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English-Canadian seats, and virtually all the seats from Quebec, has generally been "the party of government" — and has used this power in the direction of the deconstruction of traditional English Canada. Most emblematic of this was the replacement in 1965 of Canada's traditional flag, the Red Ensign (a flag, like the Australian, with the Union Jack in the upper corner), with Canada's present Maple Leaf flag — which many at that time felt was just a Liberal Party banner. In "Trudeauism: The Highest Form of Liberalism," Brimelow dissects Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who was Canada's Prime Minister for sixteen years (1968-1984). "Bilingualism: The Essence of Trudeauism," describes Trudeau's answer to the Canadian conundrum of two founding peoples warring in the bosom of a single state. This was essentially to placate French-Canadians by offering them the notion that they were guiding and seriously influencing a bilingual, continent-wide polity. Trudeau's policy could best be summed up by the phrase: for French Quebec (as a collectivity) — *nothing*; for French-Canadians (as individuals) — *everything*. The following chapter deals with "U.S.-Canadian Diplomacy: or, the Longest Undefended Special Relationship in the World." In criticizing the influence of Canada's liberal civil-service mandarins at External Affairs, who sought to sever Canada's links with Britain, Brimelow glosses over the fact they did so in order to bring Canada closer to America — as he himself is pro-American.

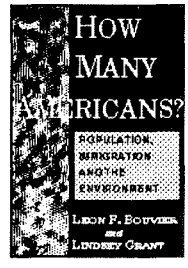
Part Two, "The Two Solitudes," deals with the two founding peoples of Canada. "From Failing Hands: The Eclipse of English Canada" is a quite proper lament for the cultural destruction of a people. However, the criticism of the latter-day "Canadian Nationalism" is somewhat maladroit. "We Shall Not Sleep: English Canada Rediscovered," in its criticism of the parliamentary system, and its desire to see the hope for English-Canadian restoration in America is, according to the reviewer, seriously misconceived.

The two following chapters on Quebec — "Quebec: Our Master, the Past," and "Quebec: We Shall Have Our French State" straightforwardly describes the distinct "otherness" of French Quebec vis-à-vis English Canada, and of its long march towards self-determination.

Part Three, ironically titled "The Maple Leaf Forever", discusses "The Other Fault Lines" — English Canada's regional cleavages (British Columbia, the Prairie provinces, and the Maritimes vs. Ontario) and the rising issue of aboriginal self-government. The next chapter looks at "Canada and the Mulroney Answer." Brian Mulroney, Canada's Prime Minister from 1984 to 1993, although elected as a Progressive Conservative (or Tory), was a bicultural Quebecker like Trudeau, and in some ways even more liberal. While immigration was precipitously raised to a quarter-million a year in Mulroney's third year in office

How Many Americans?
Population, Immigration and the Environment

by Leon F. Bouvier and Lindsey Grant



Bouvier and Grant examine the current and potential impact on the environment of the rapidly expanding U.S. population. They use alternative population projection scenarios to show that reducing both consumption and fertility will not be enough to achieve environmental sustainability. Their conclusion is that U.S. immigration policy — currently one of the primary contributors to U.S. population growth — must be reexamined.

"This book asks questions long overdue. Do we want 400 million Americans? If 'all great truths begin as heresy,' this is a heretical — but desperately important — book."

—Richard D. Lamm, former Governor of Colorado

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(where it has remained ever since) from about 50,000 in Trudeau's last year in power — Mulroney's great "right-wing" successes were the carrying out of the Canada-US Free Trade deal, and the establishment of a value-added tax (the hated GST). Brimelow's main concerns in the chapter are economic, so he heartily approves of Mulroney's steps (at that time) towards Free Trade.

"Trudeau's policy could best be summed up by the phrase: for French Quebec (as a collectivity) — nothing; for French-Canadians (as individuals) — everything."

The work concludes with "The Other Half-Sheet of Notepaper: A Prognosis". Most of the predictions are now quite passé. Brimelow ends with a call for "an English Canada that remembers its past and understands its North American future." This is an oxymoron: it is precisely American liberal, capitalist, and individualist culture that has undermined the English-Canadian identity that Brimelow esteems. Brimelow's desire to meld with America is predicated on a highly-questionable view — perhaps more tenable to him in the Eighties — of America as some kind of right-wing, Reaganite, utopia. The fact is that any serious defense of English-Canadian identity must be anti-American. No real English-Canadian conservative could advocate the absorption of Canada into a society like America's today. Indeed, they might well look to an alliance with some of the "Canadian Nationalists" that Brimelow despises.

While Brimelow's work, despite its flaws, is important and incisive, Gairdner's book on the *Constitutional Crack-Up* in Canada is barely worth reading. If someone can seriously accept Gairdner's convoluted notion that an individualist, American-style Charter of Rights and Freedoms (enacted in Canada in 1982) is an artefact of French centralism and incipient government fascism, then the book will appeal to such a person. Gairdner is a doctrinaire anti-statist. This is the reviewer's response. The key to all international and internal political relations, is the *fait accompli*. The notion that "history is written by the victors" is impossible to challenge, except to note that different nations and groupings are objectively winning at any given time. Part of the cultural, social, and political power of regnant groups is projected by the indirect approach of portraying themselves as under severe attack. The vehicle for creating *fait accompli*, throughout history, is the State. Any ideology which confines itself to managing the economy, or posits the goal of a minimal state, is doomed to failure — its opponents will largely concede the economic argument, devoting themselves to cultural issues and the harnessing of the state-bureaucracy to their own ends. Then, the former ideology is simply crushed, as it lacks the wherewithal in the state-structures to defend itself. As Gairdner's work espouses the individualist, anti-statist, politically incoherent, sociologically ridiculous, Lockean-derived position, it can hardly be recommended as offering any prescription for Canada's ills. Furthermore, its explicit refusal to recognize "the two nations" thesis of Canada — which Brimelow fully acknowledged — discredits it entirely as a serious piece of analysis.

The best book available on Canada and the Canadian question is still probably George Parkin Grant's *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism*, originally published in 1965. A new work in the spirit of Grant, covering the events of the subsequent three decades in Canada, is now sorely needed. ■

[*Copies of* The Patriot Game *are available from APEC (Association for the Preservation of English in Canada), 3080 Yonge Street, Suite 5068, Toronto, Ontario M4N 3N1, Canada.]*

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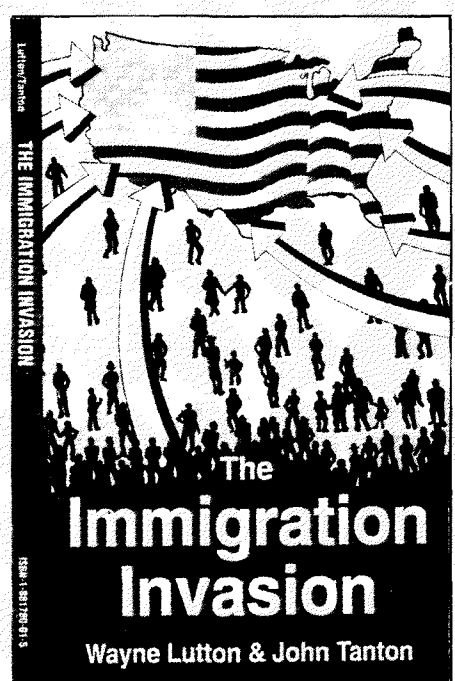

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